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A

MEMORIAL,

MOST HUMBLY ADDRESSED

TO THE

SOVEREIGNS of EUROPE,

ON THE

PRESENT STATE of AFFAIRS,

BETWEEN THE

OLD AND NEW WORLD.

By T. POWNALL,

Late Governor, Captain-General, Vice-Admiral, &c. of the Provinces, now STATES, Maſſachuſetts-Bay and South-Carolina; and Lieutenant-Governor of New-Jerſey.

A NEW EDITION.

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*Adamo
14.1.16

PREFACE.

THE Memorial which I herewith ſend you, was written by a Friend of mine, who is lately dead. It is of no conſequence to the Public to be informed who he was. What he was, and of what ſpirit, will appear by his Writings. A deciſive misfortune in his perſonal relations had determined him to quit Europe, and to ſettle in America: He had arranged his affairs to that end; and, although from the troubles which, in the interval of his preparations, aroſe in America, he ſuſpended his actual ſettlement in that Country; yet he ſo far quitted Europe as to go and reſide in the Azores or Weſtern Iſles, devoting himſelf to that ſtudy and contemplation which

which was beſt ſuited to conſole him under his misfortunes, and to reconcile him to the ſacrifice which he was about to make of every thing that remained to him of what the World holds moſt dear. I had the happineſs of correſponding with him while he lived there, and I received this from him, with leave (if ever a time ſhould arrive, in which I ſhould think it might be of uſe) to publiſh it, on this condition, that I would write "ſomething of a Preface "to it. I do not," (*ſays he,) "like the "Roman Stateſman, ſay, *Orna me.* Leave "me to oblivion, and in peace; for that is "all I now ſeek. I am perſuaded that the "matter of facts, as the Memorial ſtates "it, and that the preſent combination of "events, as the Memorial deſcribes it, is "*true:* That the conſequences which I point "out, as flowing from them, are *probable:* "And that the conduct which I deſcribe as "that with which theſe things ſhould be "met, is the beſt wiſdom for the Sovereigns "of Europe, by which they can promote "the

* In a letter dated *Nov.* 1778, *Ponta del Gada* in *St. Michael's.*

" the intereſt of their States, or the happi-
" neſs of their People. * If the events do
" not come forward *at this period* as I ſup-
" poſe, or juſt *in the ſeries of proceſſion* as my
" reaſoning hath attempted to draw the line,
" that is nothing to the age of the world,
" nor to the growing ſyſtem of a ſtate. The
" thing, therefore, which I aſk of you, is,
" to ſhow how the general reaſoning on the
" general train of events, applies to the cir-
" cumſtances of the time whenever you ſhall
" publiſh it: And that you will give it (in
" French, or in any other language gene-
" rally underſtood) ſuch a faſhionable dreſs,
" ſuch as that the world may receive it
" and underſtand it. Alſo, I wiſh that it
" may be underſtood how ſenſible I am
" that an *Apology* is neceſſary for my pre-
" ſuming to addreſs a Memorial to Sove-
" reigns, on a ſubject in which they muſt
" be ſuppoſed to be perfectly informed, and
" in which your Friend (it may be ſup-
" poſed) can have ſo little practical informa-
" tion.

* They have, however, come forward at this period, 1783; and exactly in the ſeries of proceſſion as I drew the line.

" tion. Although, in what I am going to
" ſay, I ſhall ſhew no great art or addreſs,
" nor obſerve that conduct which would be
" likely to recommend this Memorial to the
" great world; yet, for truth's ſake, I will
" ſay it, That I have always found that the
" Sovereigns, as far as they are informed, and
" are in circumſtances to exert themſelves,
" have the intereſt and proſperity of their
" ſubjects, the welfare and happineſs of
" mankind, more at heart, than it ever
" enters into the heads or hearts of their
" Miniſters to conceive. It is for that rea-
" ſon that I have preſumed to addreſs them.
" I will ſet the great Henry of France at
" the head of the firſt liſt: One has heard
" of a Sully, a Fleury, a Clarendon, a
" Somers, a De Witt, a Franklin; and for
" the common good of mankind one would
" hope, that ſuch men, in all countries
" where they can act, may never be want-
" ing to continue this other liſt."

Although this my Preface will be formed chiefly by extracts from my Friend's letters, who

who can beſt explain his own views, and which, without the parade of Authoriſm, are moſt fairly explained in thoſe private ſentiments: Yet, I doubt whether it may not be neceſſary to ſay, that though he here appears as an abſtracted Philoſopher, yet he was not unpracticed in the buſineſs of Government, nor uninformed by experience in a knowledge of the nature of the European Settlements in America. His life was a compound of buſineſs and frivolity *abroad:* He was a Philoſopher *at home*; and always, what may be very properly expreſſed, *very much at home.* He was conſcious that he thought very differently from the generality of mankind on thoſe ſubjects; and uſed while in Europe frequently to lament how little he was underſtood on the ſubject matter of this buſineſs. In a letter dated from the ſame place, in *March* 1779, he ſays, "When I look back, and compare my "opinions with events which ſeem to have "confirmed them, and yet ſee how little "effect theſe opinions have had, even when "called for, and when duly explained, by "facts

" facts, in their proper place, I am at
" length convinced, that I have not the
" talent of ſo arranging, and of ſo explain-
" ing things, which I am ſure are facts and
" truths, as to demonſtrate them to others.
" That mind, whoſe faculties are moſt rea-
" dily exerted in the ſearch of truth, is ſel-
" dom habile and efficient in the demonſtra-
" tion of it. This, therefore, will be the
" laſt Paper which I ſhall ever write on this
" ſide the world, on this ſubject. So little
" (if I am not too vain in a reference to my
" own ideas) was this ſubject compre-
" hended, ſo little did it ſeem intereſting,
" ſo little was it reliſhed, when I was in
" Europe, that I ſcarce ever talked of it in
" real earneſt: And, although this with-
" drawn place may ſeem beſt ſuited for
" contemplation; yet I feel here the want
" of that correſpondence and converſation,
" which elicites, and brings forward into
" effect, the power of reaſoning, better
" than the cloſeſt and moſt intenſe ſtudy
" ever did. *Nec quenquam habeo quocum fa-*
" *miliariter de hujus modi rebus colloqui poſ-*
" *ſim*;

" *ſim*; *ut ne ſaltem explicem & exacuam.* " And I own I have my apprehenſions that " I may prove to be as *viſionary*, as the " world, I know, *will think me.*" Whether the world will be of opinion with my Friend's apprehenſions or not, that this Memorial is viſionary; you receive it, Mr. Almon, juſt as I received it. It appears to me to be founded in fact; to be plain and intelligible, is what I underſtand; and what therefore, I think, any other may very well underſtand. I hope, that, little as this Memorial is in its bulk, indeed not enough to make a book; it will neither be ſold or read as a pamphlet *laxa cervice.* There is nothing in it to amuſe ſuch readers. If the matter which it contains, does not attract and engage the ſerious attention of ſerious men of buſineſs, it is neither worth your printing, nor their purchaſing.

I differ from my Friend, and think it beſt that it ſhould appear firſt in its own dreſs and language; I therefore ſend it to you, to print off an edition of it. I ſhall have

it

it tranſlated afterward into a language that the generality of the world underſtands, becauſe I think, that the matter which it contains, is of great importance to the States of Europe in general, as well as to England and America in a more particular manner.

I am,

Sir,

Your Humble Servant,

* * * * *

Editor.

Paris, Jan. 25, 1780.

MEMORIAL, &c.

THAT NASCENT CRISIS,* which at the end of the laſt war "opened a a new channel of buſineſs, *and brought into operation a new concatenation of powers, both political and commercial,*" is now, at the beginning of this preſent war, come forward into birth, in perfect and eſtabliſhed ſyſtem. "*The ſpirit of commerce hath become a leading and predominant power,*" it hath formed throughout North-America, and hath extended to Europe the baſis of a new commercial ſyſtem. "THE RISE AND FORMING OF THAT SYSTEM WAS WHAT PRECISELY CONSTITUTED THE CRISIS OF THAT TIME." It was ſeen by men who knew

 how

* This quaint expreſſion, and the following paſſages, are taken from Governor Pownall's book on the Britiſh Colonies, firſt publiſhed in the year 1764.

how to profit of the knowledge; thoſe who ſhould have profitted would not ſee that "THAT ONE GENERAL COMPOSITE INTEREST" ſo formed, and ſo acting under the ſame laws, and by the ſame ſpirit of *attraction* which pervades all nature, muſt neceſſarily, in the proceſſion of its power, have "A ONE COMMON CENTER OF GRAVITY AND UNION." There was, at that time, a State in Europe within whoſe dominions *that center* lay, coinciding nearly with the center of its own proper *political* ſyſtem, and making even a part of its *natural* ſyſtem. The operations of this compoſite ſyſtem took a courſe almoſt in the very direction of the line of the natural movements of that State. The baſis of a *great marine dominion* was laid by Nature, and the God of Nature offered that dominion to the only Power with which the ſpirit of liberty then dwelt. But the Government of that State, being wiſe in its own conceit, not only above, but againſt thoſe things which exiſted, rejected Nature and would none of her ways; deſpiſed the wiſdom of that Providence

Providence which had eſtabliſhed her. The ſpirit of attraction which Nature actuates was held to be a viſion; and THAT STATE OF UNION, which the hand of God held forth, was blaſphemed as folly. The Miniſters of that country ſaid to Repulſion, Thou ſhalt guide *our ſpirit*; to Diſtraction, Thou ſhalt be our wiſdom. This ſpirit of Repulſion, this wiſdom of Diſtraction, hath wrought the natural effect, diſſolution. They have not only loſt for ever the dominion which they might have wrought their nation up to, but the external parts of the Empire are one after another falling off, and it will be once more reduced to its inſular exiſtence.

On the other hand, *this new ſyſtem* of power, united in and moving round its own proper center " *had diſſolved the effect of all artificial* repulſions which force would create, and hath *formed thoſe natural connections by and under* which its actual intereſt exiſts." Founded in Nature it is growing, by accelerated motions, and accumulated accretion of parts, into an independent, organized being, a great and

powerful empire. *It has taken its equal ſtation with the nations* upon earth.

Video ſolem orientem in occidente.

North-America is become a new *primary planet* in the ſyſtem of the world, which while it takes its own courſe, in its own orbit, muſt have effect on the orbit of every other planet, and ſhift the common center of gravity of the whole ſyſtem of the European world.

North-America is *de facto* AN INDEPENDENT POWER *which has taken its equal ſtation with other powers*, and muſt be ſo *de jure*. The politicians of the Governments of Europe may reaſon or negociate upon this idea, as a matter *ſub lite*. The powers of thoſe Governments may fight about it as a new Power coming into eſtabliſhment; ſuch negociations, and ſuch wars, are of no conſequence either to the right or the fact. It would be juſt as wiſe, and juſt as effectual, if they were to go to war to decide, or ſet on foot negociations to ſettle, to whom for the future the ſovereignty of the moon ſhould belong. The moon hath been long common to them all, and they may

may all in their turns profit of her reflected light. The independence of America is fixed as fate; ſhe is miſtreſs of her own fortune;---knows that ſhe is ſo, and will actuate that power which ſhe feels ſhe hath, ſo as to eſtabliſh her own ſyſtem, and to change the ſyſtem of Europe.

I will not loſe time, in an uſeleſs waſte of words, by attempting to prove the exiſtence of this fact. The rapid progreſs of events at this criſis will not wait for ſuch trifling. The only thing which can be uſeful to the world is, to examine what the preciſe change of ſyſtem is; what will be the general conſequence of ſuch change; and with what ſpirit, and by what conduct the advancing ſtate of things ſhould be met.

If the Powers of Europe will view the ſtate of things *as they do really exiſt*, and will treat them *as being what they are*, the lives of thouſands may be ſpared; the happineſs of millions may be ſecured; and, the peace of the whole world preſerved. If they will not, they will be plunged into a ſea of troubles, a ſea of blood, fathom-

leſs

leſs and boundleſs. The war that has begun to rage betwixt Britain, France, and Spain, which is almoſt gorged betwixt Britain and America, will extend itſelf to all the maritime, and moſt likely, afterwards, to all the inland powers of Europe: and like the *thirty years war* of the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth centuries, will not end, but as that did, by a new and general reſettlement of powers and intereſts, according to the new ſpirit of the new ſyſtem which hath taken place. Why may not all this be done by a Congreſs of all the Powers before, as well as after war? If the Powers of the preſent world fought for dominion by extirpation, then war is the proper engine: but if they war in order to treat for ſettlements of power, as has been long the ſyſtem of Europe, then is war a wanton, clumſey, uſeleſs cruelty. The final iſſue of the conteſt in the final ſettlement of power at a peace, is ſeldom (I think never) in proportion to the ſucceſs of arms. It depends upon the interpoſition of parties, who have not, perhaps, meddled with the war, but who come to the treaty for

for peace. This interpoſition, brought forward by intrigue, moſt commonly with the aid of jealouſy, doth counteract by negociation the envied effects of arms. If thoſe who govern in Europe will look back to former wars, and will conſider the views with which ſuch were undertaken, will obſerve the progreſs which they made, and the iſſue in which they terminated. If they will examine the various ſyſtems planned for the enlargement of dominion, and the various ſtruggles under thoſe plans, which have agitated their corner of the world, and will weigh the effect of theſe with the various forms of oppoſition which hath been made to, and hath arreſted their progreſs, they will find, that negociation, and not war, determined theſe points.

The Britons have been *primeures in politics*, they have forced and brought forward the preſent riſing ſyſtem into event and eſtabliſhment before its natural ſeaſon. They might, with that addreſs which principles of truth and benevolence, deriving through common ſenſe, direct, have ſecured the attachment, and retained *the filial obedience*

obedience of their plantations for years to come (as the Spaniards with their caution will do;) but it was unfortunately for them, a principal part of the miſerable, baſeleſs plan of their inexperienced adviſers, *the confidential counſellors* (in a general propoſed reform of their King's government) to reform the conſtitutions of their American eſtabliſhments. Although they could not be ignorant, although they were not uninformed, that the courſe of this reform muſt lead to war, yet having ſettled in their own minds an over-weening idea of the force of arms, they thought it *no bad move*, if they ſhould (like giving check-mate at cheſs) force the Americans to have recourſe to arms. Conqueſt, of which they made themſelves ſure, and ſettlements in conſequence of ſuch conqueſt, in which they would not ſuſpect any other Power could interfere, would give them the proper right and proper power of altering the eſtabliſhments, and of giving them juſt what conſtitutions they thought fit; ſuch as that given to Quebec, in the example of a conquered province held by arms. But, alas! when

when they were ſo ready for war, they little thought, or could be made to underſtand, what ſort of a war it would turn out; and much leſs would they believe how many other circumſtances of perſons and things, beſides the operation of their arms, would interpoſe, and become part of the buſineſs, before it came to the iſſue of a ſettlement.

In like manner, none of the Powers of Europe, and, I believe, very few of the moſt knowing politicians have conſidered in a general view, the effect of the preſent combination of events, or what effect it is likely to have, on the general ſyſtem of European politics: and yet there is one thing palpably certain; that, on whatever ground the preſent war between Britain and the Houſe of Bourbon may ſet out, or in whatever line it takes its courſe; that, however long, to their mutual ruin, they may continue the conteſt, by which they hope to decide, to which of them *as allies*, *fœdere inequali*, the Americans ſhall belong, the Americans will belong to neither. The Powers of Europe, who will become parties, before theſe affairs come

to the iſſue of peace, will concur in no other final ſettlement, than that theſe States are an independent ſovereign Power, holding a free commerce equally with all.

In order then to ſhew, how theſe matters which are like to agitate all the States of Europe, and, if they go to war on this ſubject, to become the ſcourge of the preſent age, how thoſe matters may be ſettled, without going to war, *and will be finally ſettled*, whatever are the ruinous, cruel, and deſtructive operations, and efforts of arms. I, a man long withdrawn from buſineſs, and now, at this time, from the world, will endeavour to lay before thoſe whom it may concern, a view of the European and American worlds, comparing their reſpective ſyſtems in the forms under which they exiſt, and operate to power; and from thence to point out what will be the natural effects of the ſeparation of them, and of the independence of America actuating her ſyſtem, as it may affect the commercial and political ſtate of Europe; and finally to demonſtrate how, if the preſent criſis be wiſely managed, and with a ſpirit of good-

will

will to Men, it may be wrought into the greateſt bleſſing of peace, liberty, and happineſs, which the world hath ever yet experienced in the courſe of its exiſtence.

In the ſituation in which I find myſelf detached from all connections in the intereſts or politics either of Europe or America; and, as to my locality, in a * meridian between the two worlds, I can look to either as I turn to the eaſt or weſt: freed from thoſe old habits of thinking, or rather of prejudging, which an European is mechanically fettered with, I can, with the ſame philoſophic indifference, with which an aſtronomer examines the comparative matter and magnitude of two diſtant planets, compare theſe two diſtant worlds in their magnitude, ſpirit, and power.

When I ſpeak of greatneſs in the one or other, I mean (as Mr. Bacon, the Lord Verulam expreſſes it) the *amplitude and growth of ſtates*. This ſubject, the comparing the greatneſs of two continents, which never came into compariſon before,

* At the Azores.

is not more novel in the matter, than I ſhall be thought to be viſionary in the manner and argument; I muſt therefore march here with formal and meaſured ſteps.

Before I enter into this compariſon of the amplitude and growth of the ſtates of the old and new world, I ſhall here premiſe, what the ſame noble author ſuggeſts, and which, in the courſe of reaſoning, will be explained. "That in the meaſuring and balancing of greatneſs, too much is aſcribed to largeneſs of territory on one hand; and on the other, too much to the fruitfulneſs of ſoil, or abundance of commodities."

Under this caution premiſed, I ſhall ſtate firſt the *natural greatneſs* of the new world compared with that of the old.

Greatneſs without connection of parts is expanſe not greatneſs: natural connection of parts without an actuating intercommunion of thoſe parts, is encumbered bulk, not ſtrength. That greatneſs of dominions which hath a natural *capability* of ſyſtematic connection, by an actuating intercommunion which ariſes alſo from nature, can alone

alone be conſidered as that *natural greatneſs* which adminiſters to *amplitude and growth* of ſtates.

Although the three geographical ſeparate parts of the world ſeem *naturally* to concentre by the Mediterranean ſea into a connected communion; and although when and while they were actuated by * an effort of wiſdom, as extenſive in the branches, as in the communion, at the root, they were combined into a one dominion; yet that being an effort beyond the common holding ſtrength, beyond the ordinary reſources of human nature, the ſcale proved in the end too large for either the ſpirit or the arm of Man to extend to. It could not but prove to be, in the event, what it was in the moment of its exertion, a predominancy of artificial power againſt nature, and therefore temporary. The three parts of the old world, Europe, Aſia, and Africa, ſeem to have a natural diviſion in the natural ſcite and circumſtances of their territory. They are alſo inhabited and poſſeſſed by three different and diſtinct ſpecies

* The policy of the Roman ſtate.

ſpecies the of human being. They have, therefore, generally by the effect of principles of nature operating againſt the vigour of man, fallen, in dominion, into their natural diviſion. North America and South America are, in like manner, at the *ſond*, naturally divided into two diſtinct ſyſtems, and will, as naturally, divide into two diſtinct dominions. On the contrary, large as the ſcale of North or South America is, neither of theſe reſpectively, either in the natural ſcite and circumſtances of territory, nor in the people who poſſeſs and cultivate them, are ſo divided. North America (I ſpeak of the predominating inhabitancy) is poſſeſſed by the Engliſh nation. South America by the Spaniſh and Portugueſe, which, in this argument, may be called one nation. Theſe natural circumſtances in country and people, form each of theſe diviſions of the new world reſpectively, into a one great communion, the baſis of a great and powerful dominion; ſtretching out its arms and branches over the whole land, as the fibres of the roots interweave into, and through, the various combinations

of

of natural objects, whence they draw their ſpirit of life.

There is no where in the European part of the old world ſuch a greatneſs of interwoven and combined intereſt, communicating through ſuch largeneſs of territory, as that in North America, poſſeſſed and actuated by the Engliſh nation. The northern and ſouthern parts of Europe, are poſſeſſed by different nations, actuated by different ſpirits, and conducted under very different ſyſtems. Inſtead of actuating an intercommunion by an attractive, their intercourſe is at perpetual variance under a repellant principle; their communion alſo is obſtructed by the difficulties of intercourſe both over land, and through the ſeas; they are moreover cut off, as it were in the middle, by other intervening nations, whoſe principles and ſyſtem are alike repellant and obſtructive of free communion.

On the contrary, when the ſcite and circumſtances of the large extended territories of North America are examined; one finds every thing united in it which forms great-

neſs

neſs of dominions, *amplitude and growth of ſtate.*

The nature of the coaſt and of the winds upon that coaſt, is ſuch as renders marine navigation, from one end of its extent to the other, a perpetually moving intercourſe of communion: and the nature of the rivers which open (where marine navigation ends) an inland navigation which, with ſhort interruptions, carries on a circulation throughout the whole, renders ſuch inland navigation but a further proceſs of that communion; all which becomes, as it were, a one vital principle of life, extended through a one organized being.

While the country, by the *capability* of this natural communion, becomes thus united at its root; its largeneſs of territory, expanded through ſuch a variety of climates, produces, upon this communion, every thing that nature requires, that luxury loves to abound in; or that power can uſe, as an inſtrument of its activity. All thoſe things which the different nations in Europe (under every difficulty that a defect of natural communion, under every obſtruction

ſtruction that an artificial and perverted ſyſtem threw in their way) barter for in the Old World, are here in the New World poſſeſſed, under an uninterrupted natural communion, by an unobſtructed navigation, under an univerſal freedom of commerce, by one nation. The naval ſtores, the timber, the hemp, the fiſheries, the ſalted proviſions of the North; the tobacco, rice, cotton, ſilk, indigo, finer fruits, and perhaps, in no very diſtant period, the wines, the reſin and tar of the South, form the reciprocation of wants and ſupplies of each reſpectively. The bread corn, the flour, the produce of agriculture in every form of farming, and the ſeveral encreaſing articles of manufactures, which the middle colonies produce, not only fill up the communion, but compleat its ſyſtem. They unite thoſe parts which were before connected, and organize (as I have ſaid) the ſeveral parts into a one whole.

Whether the iſlands, in thoſe parts called the Weſt Indies, are naturally parts of this North American Communion, is a queſtion, in the detail of it, of curious ſpeculation,

but of no doubt as to the fact. The European maritime powers, however, if they can adjuſt their reſpective intereſts in thoſe parts; if they will form a balance of power there on thoſe intereſts; if they can ſettle any ſyſtem of reciprocal ſupport of that balance; may certainly, by efforts of force, for ſome years, perhaps for an age longer, preſerve the property and dominion of theſe iſlands. But if their quarrels amongſt each other reſpecting North America, or the European ſhifting of the balance, make them obſtinately deaf to their mutual intereſts in theſe parts, "The "whole of the Spaniſh, Dutch, Daniſh, "French, and Britiſh eſtabliſhments, indiſ- "ſolubly bound in an union and commu- "nion of a one general compoſite intereſt "with North America, and forming the na- "tural connections under which their mu- "tual intereſts ſubſiſt, muſt in the courſe "of events become parts as of the *communion*, "ſo of the great North American *dominion*, "eſtabliſhed on the baſis of that union." Although no external ſymptoms of revolution in South America do at preſent make it any part of the ſubject which I offer to conſideration,

conſideration, yet it may not be amiſs to inquire into thoſe internal circumſtances of its natural and political ſyſtem, by which its Communion has amplified, and works to independency and the growth of ſtate.

The continent of South America has ſtill more amplitude of baſis, in more variety of climates, than North America, and is much farther advanced to a natural independence of Europe, *as to its ſtate of ſupply*, than the powers of Europe do ſee, or at leaſt own; or than its own inhabitants, ſpeaking of them generally, are themſelves conſcious of. This continent, not only from the great extent of latitudes under which it lies, but from the great variety of climates that it experiences under the ſame latitudes; from the abundance and variety of articles of ſupply which theſe different climates produce; from the regular, uniform, and active marine communion, by which a compleat reciprocation of mutual ſupplies is circulated from North to South, is alſo formed into one ſyſtem of communion, the germ of a great independent dominion; that has taken

root, is every day ſtriking deeper, and more expanded fibres; and is every day, by the vigour of natural vegetation (if I may ſo expreſs myſelf) putting forth its extended branches, and is growing *occulto velut arbor ævo*, into the greateſt amplitude of communion, and of dominion founded thereon, which this earth hath ever yet ſeen, China perhaps alone excepted. Agriculture in the elevated parts of this country, nearly the ſame as other the perfectly cultivated parts of the world actuate, has taken place, and is in progreſſive motion to the moſt varied and extenſive operations. Theſe parts afford not only abundance for home conſumption, *but a ſurplus for exportation.* The articles of this export are wheat, flour, barley, wine, hemp, tallow, lard, ſugar, cocoa, fruits, ſweatmeats, pickles, naptha, oil, cotton, &c. This progreſs of agriculture hath, in the true courſe of nature, called forth, even from the hands of Indians, manufactures and trade, the roots which ſupply a moſt extenſive circulation of commerce: Cordage, ſailcloth of cotton, woollen and linen cloth, hats, leather, and particularly ſole-leather,

leather, fiance, inſtruments of huſbandry, tools of mechanics, and, in ſhort, every thing which the advancing cultivation of man's being calls for, from theſe articles.

As the markets, population, and culture of the ſeveral provinces of the kingdom of Chili (advancing with accelerated, tho' not great, velocity) ſhall mutually encreaſe each other. The produce of theſe higher latitudes and cooler climates will enter into the great ſyſtem of intercommunion of ſupplies, and will compleat the weſtern ſide of South America, poſſeſſed by one nation, into an object of as much greater magnitude, in activity, wealth, and power, than the Engliſh nation poſſeſſes in North America, as it is greater in the variety and extent of its internal communion. Beſides which it will have an uninterrupted intercourſe of Eaſt Indian commerce.

If any accident ſhould happen to abate, or give a turn to, the caprices, luxury, and vanity of a rich people, who have nothing to do but to ſpend their money, there is not any one article which I can recollect, neceſſary to the moſt advanced ſtate of life, which

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they have not, or may not have, within themſelves. Look back and ſee if this ſtate of the country is not ſo far forth *naturally* independent of Europe, as to all ſupply and ſupport of its exiſtence; I will here add, much more ſo than North America is. The communion in North America has not as yet gone into an *active ſtate* of manufactures, nor will it for many years to come. And yet, on the other hand, although North America is not ſo independent of Europe in the matter of its ſupply and commerce, as South America is, yet being more ſo in the ſpirit of its people, in the œconomy and advance of its political community, it has, with the forcing aid of the government of its metropolis, become the firſt fruit of thoſe who ſlept, and has *only firſt* ſeparated from the old world. South America is not yet in its natural courſe, ripe for falling off; nor is it likely, from the ſlow, official, cautious prudence of its metropolis, to be forced before its time and ſeaſon to a premature revolt, as North America has been. As long as the Spaniſh monarch proceeds in adminiſtring the affairs and the government of its

its American eſtabliſhments, with the temper, addreſs and wiſdom which it obſerves at preſent, an indolent, luxurious, ſuperſtitious people, not much, (though much more than the public in general ſuſpects) accuſtomed to think of political arrangements, will continue in a certain degree of ſubjection to government, and in a certain degree of acquieſcence to commercial reſtrictive regulations in their European intercourſe, for the ſake of a reciprocity of advantage, enjoyment, and protection, which they derive from it. Not being yet *hardened into a temper for enterprize by force of war*, they will continue to pay their taxes *as a peace-offering*. But the natives encreaſing in numbers, beyond any proportion of the number of Old Spaniards, which the metropolis can ſend either as civil governors and magiſtrates, or as ſoldiers; having the executive power of all the inferior magiſtracies in their own hands, by their own election of the magiſtrates; and having invariably, where their choice operates, a decided rule to chooſe thoſe of their own body; they have, ſo far as that goes, all *the power*

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of internal government in their own hands, in which the majeſty of the ſovereign power never interferes; and whatever ſovereignty the Spaniſh monarch holds by the offices of his viceroys, of his judges, of his audiencies, his clergy, or his army, however majeſtic they may look, or however it may appear to individuals, and, in particular exertions, carry terror: it *is a mere tenure at good-will.* A great country like this, where the community has ſo far advanced in agriculture, manufactures, arts, and commerce, wherein there is ſuch *amplitude and growth of ſtate*, is every day growing too large for any government in Europe to manage by authority, at the diſtance of four or five thouſand miles. And as to the idea of power by force, I will uſe Mr. Bacon, the Lord Verulam's explanation of it; "There be, (ſaith he) two "manners of ſecuring of large territories; "the one by the natural arms of every pro- "vince; and the other by the protecting "arms of the principal eſtates; in which "latter caſe, commonly the provincials are "held diſarmed. So are there two dangers "incident unto every eſtate, foreign inva-

ſion,

" ſion, and inward rebellion. Now, ſuch " is the nature of things, that theſe two re- " medies of ſtate do fall reſpectively into " theſe two dangers, *in caſe of remote pro-* " *vinces:* For if ſuch a ſtate reſt upon the " natural arms of the provinces, it is ſure to " be ſubject to rebellion or revolt; if upon " protecting arms, it is ſure to be weak " againſt invaſion." And I will venture to add, weak and *inferior to the internal power* of the province, which muſt of courſe predominate. The Spaniſh government knows, that they, as well as the Engliſh, found themſelves under the neceſſity of repealing an arrangement of revenue which they had made; becauſe they felt that they *could not carry it into execution by authority*, and they ſo rightly underſtood their ſtrength, as to know that it was *not ſafe to urge it by force.* It is alſo very well known, that the diſputes between the Spaniſh and Portugueſe courts, about the boundaries of the Brazils and the Spaniſh provinces, aroſe from their not being able jointly to carry into effect a pacification on the caſe, becauſe there are Powers in thoſe countries, who would not be bound by the deciſions of a government, whoſe

laws are of no authority with them, when oppoſed to their ſyſtem. The powers I mean, are the governing authority of the miſſions at Paraguay. This is exactly and preciſely the ſtate of the caſe between the metropolitan government of Spain and its provincial eſtabliſhments in South America. I could, by a detailed deſcription of the nature of the country; of the application of the labour of the inhabitants to its *capabilities*; of the ſtate of the community as it lies in nature, and as it is actuated; all compared with the conſtitution and adminiſtration of the government which is eſtabliſhed there; with the ſpirit of the people, both Old Spaniards, Creoles, and Indians, ſhow that South America is growing too much for Spain to manage; that it is *in power*, to be independant, and will be ſo *in act*, whenever, and as ſoon as any occaſion ſhall call forth that power. Whenever ſuch revolt takes place, it will not be after the manner or in the form of that of North America. North America building on the foundation of its dominion as it lies in nature, has become a Democratick or Ariſtocratick Republick. The falling off of South America will be conducted,

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in *its natural* progreſs, by the ſpirit of ſome injured enterprizing Genius, taking the lead of a ſenſe of alienation and of a diſpoſition of revolt, to the eſtabliſhment of a great Monarchy. But all this is beſide the ſcope of this memorial, and would become of itſelf a long memoire. I ſhall proceed therefore to conſider only thoſe operations which are in event, the *amplitude and growth of ſtate* in North America, ſo far as the ſtates and whole political ſyſtem of Europe may be affected by it, or concerned in it. I have ſtated this *natural* greatneſs, as it is founded in an union of a communion. The civilizing activity of the human race, is what forms the growth of ſtate.

To balance the *comparative progreſs of the growth of this ſtate* with thoſe of Europe, ſo as to obtain any juſt idea of a ſubject, even yet ſo little underſtood, it will be neceſſary to take a view of this *civilizing activity*, in the ſources whence it derived upon the old world; in the line its progreſs took, and in the defective eſtabliſhments to which, even in this enlightened age, it is but yet arrived: and, to compare that with the progreſs and extended ſcope of a very different civilizing

activity, operating with rapid and accelerated motion in the new world.

When the ſpirit of civilization began firſt in Europe, to emerge from that chaos of barbariſm and ignorance, which the Northern invaders, like an overwhelming deluge, had ſpread over the face of it; the clergy ſent from Rome, as miſſionaries amongſt ſavages, were the blind leaders to light; and the ſelfiſh feudal Lords, the patrons of liberal emancipation. Under ſuch auſpices, what light, what liberty, what civilization! The inſtruction of the firſt, derived through a perverted channel of learning, from a corrupted ſource of knowledge, which being directed not to inform, but to ſubdue the mind, was more pernicious than the darkneſs of ignorance, than the aberrations of barbariſm *. The kind patronage of the latter, was the benevolence of a grazier, who feeds and fattens his cattle, in order to profit the more of their fleeces, hides, and carcaſe. The inſtruc-

* Si ad fructum noſtrum referemus, non ad illius commoda, quem diligimus. Prata & Arva & pecudum greges diliguntur iſto modo, quod fructus ex üs capiunter. Cicero de Nat. de. Lib. 1. p. 44.

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tion of thoſe teachers was the dictates of authority impoſed upon mere cataceumens, *homines dedititiis*. Their learning was didactive, not as that of the new philoſophy and new world is, inductive: their knowledge was a mere paſſive impreſſion of maxims and principles, which, though neither explained nor reaſoned upon, being reiterated, became opinions, formed into ſyſtem, eſtabliſhed in inveterate habit. The people held, did not poſſeſs, their knowledge, as they did their lands, by a *ſervile tenure*, which did not permit them to uſe or improve it as their own. They were fettered by authority, led aſtray by example, and under a ſelfiſh ſelf-obſtructing ſyſtem, waſted every power of activity in unavailing labour: ſuch was the *ſource* of civilization in Europe.

In order to view the two lines of its *progreſs* in Europe and in America, it may be proper to mark and draw, as far as may be done, a third line, to which both have reference in the compariſon, the right line. In the natural progreſs of this civilizing activity, the firſt movement is, the application of labour to the culture of the earth, ſo as

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to raiſe by a cultivated, production of its fruits, that ſupply of food which is neceſſary to the human being in ſociety. That labour which builds habitations, provides rayment, and makes tools and inſtruments, which the human hand wants the aid of, is concomitant with this. The market traffic, by which the reciprocation of wants and ſurpluſſes of various articles in various hands, may be wrought into a communion of general ſupply, ſucceeds to theſe. Individuals being thus aſſured of their ſupply, by an aſſurance of the exchange of the ſurplus, which each is able to create in his own peculiar line of labour, will ſoon improve the craft of their hand, and refine the ingenuity of their deſigns. Hence, by a further advanced ſtep, ariſe, what are properly called, artificers and manufacturers. In this ſtate of the progreſs of the community, a general ſurplus, not only beyond what individuals, but beyond what the wants of the community require, is created: and this general ſurplus, as it may be exchanged for foreign articles of comfort and enjoyment, which the locality and climate of that particular

ticular community does not produce, extends and opens a courſe to commercial activity, which is the next ſtage in this progreſs.

With a reference to this line, view now the civilizing activity of the new and of the old world, each in its ſource and progreſs.

By the violence of the military ſpirit, under which Europe was a ſecond time peopled, the inhabitants were divided into two claſſes, thoſe of warriours and ſlaves, and the individuals (each man under their own claſs) were as of different degrees ſo, of different denominations.

The culture of the earth was conducted by this latter claſs, wretches annexed to, but not owners of the ſoil; degraded animals that were, as the cattle of the field, property, not proprietors. They had no intereſt in their own perſons, none in their own labour, none in the produce, either of the earth or of their labour. If they had been inſpired (for they were not taught) with knowledge, they could have no one motive to make one effort of improvement. Moreover, even thoſe who were in ſome degree

degree emancipated, that is, thoſe to whom their kind Lords had lett leaſes of their ownſelves, were ſo depreſſed by various tolls, taillages, and taxes; by being liable to military impreſſes; and to the civil drudgery, which took them from their own proper work, and employed them in that of theſe Lords and ſovereigns; which wore and tore their cattle and carriages and implements of huſbandry; were, I ſay, ſo depreſſed, that the very beſt ſpirit of them could aim at nothing in the interval but bare ſuſtenance and reſt: if yet this unſubdued ſpirit, working, under ſuch burthens, with unabated perſeverance or ingenuity, ever did by the remnant of their exertions raiſe a ſurplus in grain or cattle: This miſerable race of men were precluded all vent and market except ſuch, wherein their Lords were to abſorb the chief profits, even of ſuch ſurplus alſo. The conſequence therefore was, that they never did *by intention* raiſe ſuch ſurplus; accidents of extraordinary ſeaſons, or ſome of the hidden ſecrets of vegetation, would now and then produce ſuch a ſurplus; but more frequent accidents

accidents of the ſame kind did occaſion a deficiency and dearth. The police of theſe great Lords never ſuffered the homely wiſdom of this little adage to enter into their reaſoning, "*That he who would have a competency, ſhould provide enough and a little more.*"

The progreſs therefore of improvement in agriculture was arreſted, and became for many hundred years ſtationary. Although in ſome countries of Europe it may ſeem at preſent to be progreſſive; yet is the progreſſion ſo little and ſo Low that it can give no momentum, for ages to come, to amplitude and growth of ſtate, England perhaps excepted. But the farmer in England alſo is, equally as abſurdly as cruelly, oppreſſed and kept down.

The work of man employed on wood, iron, ſtone, or leather, were held as parts of the baſe and ſervile offices of ſociety; and fit only for the bondſmen and ſlaves, to whom ſuch were committed. Theſe artificers or handicraftſmen therefore were mere machines in the hands of the moſt arrogant as well as the moſt ignorant of maſters.

They could not venture to make experiments, or alter the adopted and accuſtomed mode of work: they would have no merit, nor receive either reward or private profit from their ſucceſs, and they riſqued every thing in the failure; ſo theſe branches of mechanicks and art went on for ages in the old beaten track of the ſame unimproved clumſineſs.

When upon the breaking up of the Hanſeatic League and other ſhiftings of commerce, the Sovereigns, who had long with envy ſeen, but never underſtood, the profit and power which aroſe from manufactures brought forward into trade, began to encourage their own ſubjects, and to invite foreign ones to eſtabliſh manufactures within their reſpective ſtates; and, with what they thought profound policy, to conduct the commerce of ſuch; civilization then took in this line of improvement a momentary ſtart of progreſſion. But the wretched condition under which this profound and jealous policy held the perſons of theſe manufactures, the many depreſſing, obſtructing, impracticable regulations, by which it reſtrained

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their labour, ſoon gave a retrograde motion to theſe efforts. The ſame policy, however affecting to give encouragement to theſe manufactures, which it had forced into operation before and faſter than the country was ripe for them, not out of its own purſe, but from the ſweat and ſuſtenance of the landworker, gave the manufacturers a falſe help, by ſetting various aſſizes on the produce of the land, and by various market regulations, which ſtill further oppreſſed agriculture. But all this was falſe and hollow, for, added to all the depreſſions of mind and obſtructions of body which theſe poor manufacturers ſuffered, there was yet an adventitious heart-breaking cruelty, to which even merit was peculiarly expoſed. If ever ingenuity of mind, or an excelling habit in the hand of any of theſe artificers or manufacturers, invented ſomething new or operated to ſome improvement in the old line of work; The ſame jealous tyrannous police, inſtead of rewarding them, or ſuffering them to ſeek their own reward, conſidered them, not as meritorious authors of good and benefit to the community, but as

profitable inſtruments to feed their private avarice; and inſtantly guarded them as ſtate priſoners. The poor ingenious Artiſt found himſelf reduced to a ſtate worſe than ſlavery, for the ingratitude of ſuch governments embittered even oppreſſion. The conſequence was, that all further improvements, here alſo, were arreſted in their courſe. As though all this was not yet ſufficient to keep down all ſpirit in the arts, and all progreſs of improvement, this ſyſtem of police made regulations to be obſerved and taxes to be paid on every movement of the manufactures after they were made; on their coming from under the hand of the workman; on the carriage; on the expoſing to ſale; on the ſale; and on the return, whether in goods or money. This police, inſtead of ſuffering the ſurplus profit to circulate freely through the community, where it would become a growing ſource of accretion and fructuation to that community, was intirely directed to abſorb the whole, beyond the labourer's hard ſuſtenance, into the treaſury of the ſtate. The idea which they entertained of the utmoſt perfection of the commercial

mercial ſyſtem, was, that the ſubject ſhould ſell but not buy; that the merchants might export the articles of their work, but muſt import money: and that the ſtate muſt have the greateſt ſhare of it. The whole ſcope and effort of all their commercial legiſlation, was pointed to arrive as near as poſſible to this imagined perfection. Under theſe ideas, and under the authority of maxims, grown inveterate, they took up the idea of commercial police, and adding the myſtery of politicks to the myſtery of trade, began to legiſlate for commerce. Hence aroſe the attempts to ſet up excluſive property in certain materials of manufacture and trade, which they called ſtaple commodities: hence incommunicative monopolies in every ſhape that the ingenuity of ignorance could invent to mock the induſtry of its country with: hence excluſive privileges of trade to certain perſons in certain articles and in certain places: hence excluſive fiſheries: hence all that nonſenſe, both in theory and practice, in which commercial politicians have taken ſo much pains to deceive themſelves, about a chimera, called the

the balance of trade; hence all the cunning follies, which rendered their markets almoſt impracticable to each other; and hence, to double and redouble the miſchief, the whole train of retaliations. Hence reſtraints on exportation, prohibitions againſt importation, alien duties, high impoſts, and a thouſand other embarraſſing follies, of which there is no end or uſe. Having thus, in their ſtruggles for profit, deranged all the order of prices; having ſet out with a falſe balance of reckoning; having by reciprocal retaliation, rendered the free courſe and fair competition of commerce, well nigh impracticable amongſt themſelves, they were forced to look out for ſettlements amidſt ſome yet uncivilized or uncommercial people, where they might exerciſe this unequal ſpirit of exorbitant gain: hence alſo treaties of commerce, on unequal conditions of traffic, with thoſe of their neighbours, whom they could keep down depreſſed by aſcendant power: and hence, finally, the grand and favourite meaſure of eſtabliſhing colonies in diſtant uncultivated regions, which, as out-farms of peculiar production, might be worked

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for the ſole excluſive benefit of the metropolis: hence alſo that wildeſt of all the wild viſions of avarice, inſpiring ambition, the attempt to render the common ocean an object of encloſed, defined, excluſive property, and to claim a poſſeſſion in, and dominion over it. Thus, through want of reference to the light of nature, from not ſeeing and treating things as what they were; from a total inverſion of the natural order of progreſs in the human community; the culture of the natural powers of the land; the improvement of the natural powers of man, to the end of advancing the community; the order and eſtabliſhments, or rather the liberty, whereby a civilizing activity might operate to the amplitude and growth of ſtates, were all depreſſed or arreſted in their progreſs. The very ſpirit of improvement was buried under oppreſſion, and all the light of genius extinguiſhed. Thoſe who preſumed to reaſon, being ſuch as were at the head of the received knowledge, ſuch as had the lead of the received opinions, and conducted the policy of the eſtabliſhed ſyſtems, conſidered the ſubject as a matter fully explored, and

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as founded in the ſureſt and moſt decided wiſdom. Their aſcendant authority, whether they ſpoke as politicians, or philoſophers believing what they taught, did equally lay a dead hand on all examination, did extinguiſh all attempts of alteration to improvement. Moulded by habits, almoſt mechanical, to think and act in the line of theſe eſtabliſhed ſyſtems, efforts of reaſoning did but the more entangle them, in deluſive means taken, and ineffectual ends propoſed. They did but ſtrive againſt themſelves, to ſave the credit of ignorance, and to ſatisfy themſelves in the poverty of their knowledge. Inſtead of following nature to thoſe truths on which profitable labour, progreſſive civilization, population, opulence, ſtrength, and the real intereſt of their country might be eſtabliſhed, their beſt wit was employed only to vary old irreverſible mazims, and to give new forms to old eſtabliſhed ſyſtems, or at beſt by new regulations, to relieve the intereſts of the ſubject, who could no longer go on, or endure, under the old ones. But as the credit and authority of the ſyſtem is yet to be kept up, the ingenuity and wit of

thoſe, who pay their court to Power, is ſtill employed in finding out new and ſtriking reaſons for old maxims, or inventing fictions and caſes for reconciling old eſtabliſhments, to new modes of acting in them, which fact, truth, and irreſiſtible neceſſity, have introduced in practice. If any genius ever dare to break this ſpiritual ſubordination, and to purſue, either in ſpeculation or practice, any new courſe to truth or action; all thoſe who lead the opinions of this ſettled world, muſt either affect to contemn him as a ſilly viſionary fooliſh, inexperienced adventurer, or cruſh him as a preſumptuous, turbulent, dangerous diſturber of the State.

This is the ſtate of the ſpirit of civilizing activity, as it hath long dragged on a feveriſh being in Europe, in the old world. Some time or other (and perhaps ſoon) events may ariſe, which ſhall induce the Governors and leaders of that corner of the world to reviſe, to conſider, and perhaps to reform the hard conditions of its impriſonment, and to give it liberty, free as its

native eſſence. In the mean while we will turn our eyes weſtward,

In this new world we ſee all the inhabitants not only free, but allowing an univerſal naturalization to all who wiſh to be ſo; and an uncontrouled liberty of uſing any mode of life they chooſe, or any means of getting a livelihood that their talents lead them to. Free of all reſtraints, which take the property of themſelves out of their own hands, their ſouls are their own, and their reaſon; they are their own maſters, and they act; their labour is employed on their own property, and what they produce is their own. In a country like this, where every man has the full and free exertion of his powers, where every man may acquire any ſhare of the good things thereof, or of intereſt and power which his ſpirit can work him up to; there, an unabated application of the powers of individuals, and a perpetual ſtruggle of their ſpirits, ſharpens their wits, and gives conſtant training to the mind. The acquirement of information in things and buſineſs, which becomes neceſſary

ceſſary to this mode of life, gives the mind, thus ſharpened, and thus exerciſed, a turn of inquiry and inveſtigation which forms a *character peculiar to theſe people*, which is not to be met with, nor ever did exiſt in any other to the ſame degree, unleſs in ſome of the ancient republics, where the people were under the ſame predicament. This turn of character, which, in the ordinary occurrences of life, is called *inquiſitiveneſs*, and which, when exerted about trifles, goes even to a degree of ridicule in many inſtances; is yet, in matters of buſineſs and commerce, a moſt uſeful and efficient talent. Whoever knows theſe people, and has viewed them in this light, will conſider them as *animated in this new world* (if I may ſo expreſs myſelf) *with the ſpirit of the new philoſophy*. Their ſyſtem of life is a courſe of experiments; and, ſtanding on that high ground of improvement, up to which the moſt enlightened parts of Europe have advanced, like eaglets they commence the firſt efforts of their pinions from a towering advantage.

Nothing in the old world is leſs regarded than a poor man's wiſdom; and yet a rich man's wiſdom is generally nought but the impreſſion of what others teach him: On the other hand, the poor man's wiſdom is not learning, but knowledge of his own acquiring and picking up, and founded upon fact and nature by ſimple experience. In America, the wiſdom and not the man is attended to; and *America is peculiarly a poor man's country.* Every thing in this wilderneſs of woods being totally different from an old world, almoſt worn out; and every perſon here far removed from the habits, example, and perverſion, or obſtruction, of thoſe who aſſume the power of directing them: the ſettler's reaſon, not from what they they hear, but from what they ſee and feel. They move not but as Nature calls forth their activity, nor fix a ſtep but where uſe marks the ground, and take the direction of their courſes by that line only, where Truth and Nature lead hand in hand. They find themſelves at liberty to follow what mode they like; they feel that they can venture

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to try experiments, and that the advantages of their diſcoveries are their own. They, therefore, try what the ſoil claims, what the climate permits, and what both will produce and ſuſtain to the greateſt advantage. Advancing in this line of labour *by ſuch a ſpirit of induction*, they have brought forward into culture an abundant produce, more than any other nation of the old world ever did or could. They raiſe not only abundance and luxurious plenty to their internal ſupply, but the iſlands of the Weſt Indies have derived great part of their ſupply from the ſuperabundance: even Europe itſelf hath, in many articles of its ſupply, profitted of the produce of this new world. It has had its fiſh from their ſeas; its wheat and flour from one part; its rice from another; its tobacco and indigo from another; its timber and naval ſtores from another: olives, oranges, wines, and various other articles of the more luxurious produce, having by experience been found to thrive, *are in experimental culture.*

If you view this civilizing ſpirit in its firſt ſimple movements, you will ſee it as

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in its firſt infancy, ſo attaching itſelf to the boſom of the common mother Earth, as the infant hangs upon the breaſt of its natural mother. The inhabitants, where nothing particular diverts their courſe, *are all landworkers.* Here one ſees them labouring after the plough, or with the ſpade and hough, as though they had not an idea beyond the ground they dwell upon; yet is their mind, all the while, enlarging all its powers, and their ſpirit riſes as their improvements advance. * He, who has obſerved this progreſs of this new-world, will know that this is true, and will have ſeen many a real philoſopher, a politician, or a warriour, emerge out of this wilderneſs, as the ſeed riſes out of the ground, where it hath lain buried for its ſeaſon.

As in its agriculture, ſo in thoſe mechanick handicrafts, which are neceſſary to, and concomitant with that, the new world hath been led to many improvements of implements, tools, and machines: a deficiency of many of theſe, an inaptitude in

* I hope no one will ſo miſunderſtand this, as to take it for a fancy-drawing of what may be; it is a lineal and exact portrait of what actually exiſts. Editor.

in many of thoſe, which they are able to get, has put theſe ſettlers, many times to their ſhifts; and theſe ſhifts are experiments. The particular uſe which calls for ſome ſuccedaneum, or for ſome further alteration, leading experience by the hand to improvement, hath opened many a new invention. While this ſpirit of thus analyſing the mechanic powers, with the ſole and ſimple view to effect (inſtead of plodding on with a mere mechanical habit, of old implements, tools, and machines, generally clumſey, and oftentimes inapplicable) hath eſtabliſhed *a kind of inſtauration of ſcience* in that branch; more new tools, implements, and machines; or rather more new forms of ſuch have been thus invented in this new world, than were ever yet invented in the old, within the like extent of country in the like ſpace of time. Many inſtances of this fact might be here ſpecified in the higher, as well as in the common, diurnal mechanics.

This new world hath not yet turned its labour into the *active* channel of arts and manufactures; becauſe by employing that labour

labour in its own natural way, it can produce thoſe things which purchaſe ſuch articles of arts and manufactures, cheaper than a country not yet ripe for thoſe employments, could make them. But although it doth not manufacture *for ſale*, the ſettlers find intervals and *fragments of time*, which they can ſpare from agriculture, and which they cannot otherwiſe employ, in which they make moſt of the articles of perſonal wear and houſhold uſe, *for home conſumption*. When the field of agriculture ſhall be filled with huſbandmen, and the claſſes of handicrafts fully ſtocked; as there are here no laws that frame conditions on which a man is to become entitled to exerciſe this or that trade, or by which he is excluded from exerciſing the one or the other, in this or that place; as there are here no laws that preſcribe the manner in which, and the prices at which, he is to work, or that lock him up in that trade which it has been his misfortune to have attached himſelf to; although while he is ſtarving in that, he could, in ſome other line of buſineſs which his circumſtances

ſtances point out, and his talents lead him to be uſeful to the public, and maintain himſelf; as there are none of thoſe oppreſſing, obſtructing, dead-doing laws here: the moment that the progreſs of civilization, carried thus on in its natural courſe, is ripe for it; the branch of manufactures will take its ſhoot, and will grow and increaſe with an aſtoniſhing exuberancy.

Although the civilizing activity of America does not, by artificial and falſe helps, contrary to the natural courſe of things, inconſiſtent with, and checking the firſt applications of, its natural labour, and before the community is ripe for ſuch endeavour, attempt to force the eſtabliſhment of manufactures: yet following, as Uſe and Experience lead, the natural progreſs of improvement, it is every year producing a ſurplus profit; which ſurplus, as it enters again into the circulation of productive employment, creates an accumulating accelerated progreſſive ſeries of ſurpluſes. *With theſe accumulated ſurpluſes* of the produce of the earth and ſeas, *and not with manufactures*, the Americans carry on their *com-*

mercial exertions. Their fiſh, wheat, flour, rice, tobacco, indigo, live ſtock, barrel pork and beef (ſome of theſe articles being peculiar to the country and ſtaple commodities) form the exports of their commerce. This has given them a direct trade to Europe; and, with ſome additional articles, a circuitous trade to Africa and the Weſt Indies.

The ſame ingenuity of mechanic handicraft, which ariſes concomitant with agriculture, doth here alſo riſe concomitant with commerce, and is exerted in SHIP-BUILDING: it is carried on, not only to ſerve all the purpoſes of their own carriage, and that of the Weſt Indies in part, but to an extent of ſale, ſo as to ſupply great part of the ſhipping of Britain; and further, if it continues to advance with the ſame progreſs, it will ſupply great part of the trade of Europe alſo with ſhipping, at cheaer rates than they can any where, or by any means, ſupply themſelves.

Thus their commerce, although ſubſiſting (while they were ſubordinate provinces) under various reſtrictions, by its advancing pro-

progreſs in *ſhip-building*, hath been ſtriking deep root, and is now ſhot forth an *active commerce*, growing into *amplitude of ſtate* and great power.

Stating the ground on which an objection is made to this deſcription of the improving commerce of America, will open to view another extraordinary ſource of *amplitude and growth of ſtate*. It will be ſaid, that the fact of the balance of trade, being at all times, and in every channel, finally againſt America, ſo as to draw all the gold and ſilver it can collect from it, is but a damning circumſtance of its progreſſive advance in commerce and opulence. In the firſt place, is it not a fact, that America (even while partitioned out into depreſſed and reſtrained provinces) has carried on all its advanced culture in a progreſs to great opulence; and has it not been conſtantly extending the channels of its trade, and encreaſing its ſhipping? There is not a more fallacious and miſguiding maxim (although it has been adopted in practice, and even by commercial nations) than that of judging of the general balance

of profit in commerce, by the movements of that one article of it, *the precious metals*. This *metallic money*, as the traffic of the world is generally conducted, is an article as neceſſary to go to market for, as any other article whatſoever. In the general circulation of trade, it will always, as any other article of commerce doth, go to that country which pays the moſt for it. Now that country which, on any ſudden or great emergency, wants money, and knows not how to circulate any other money than the metallic, muſt pay the moſt for it. Conſidered under this idea, the influx of this article into a country, inſtead of being the ſymptom, or conſequence, of the balance of trade being in favour of that country; or the efflux being the mark of the like balance, being againſt it, may be a fact in proof of the contrary. The balance of trade, reckoned by the import or export of gold and ſilver, may, in many caſes, be ſaid to be againſt England, and in favour of thoſe countries to which its money goes. If this import or export was really the effect of a final ſettled account, inſtead of being,

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as is generally the caſe, only the carrying and deducting of this article to or from ſome open current account, having further reference; yet would it not be a mark of the balance of trade. England, from the nature of its government and the extenſiveneſs of its commerce, has eſtabliſhed a credit, on which, on any emergency, it can give circulation to paper money almoſt to any amount. If it could not, it muſt, at any rate, purchaſe gold and ſilver, and there would be a great influx of the precious metals. Will any one here ſay, that this ſtate of its circumſtances is a mark of the balance of trade being in its favour: but, on the contrary, having credit from a progreſſive balance of profit, it can, even in ſuch an emergency, ſpare its gold and ſilver, and even make a profit of it as an article of commerce exported. Here we ſee the balance of profit creating a credit, which circulates as money, even while its gold and ſilver are exported. If any particular event, as for inſtance, the late one of the recoinage of the gold in England, which called in the old coin at a price better than

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that at which it was circulating abroad, ſhould raiſe the price of this article in England, it will, for the ſame reaſon as it went out, be again imported into England; not coming as the balance of their accounts, but as the article of trade, of which the beſt profit could at that moment be made. The fact was, that at that period, quantities of Engliſh gold coin, to a great amount, were actually imported into England in bulk; and yet this was no mark of any ſudden change of a balance of trade in favour of that country.

The balance of trade, reckoned by this fallacious rule, has been always ſaid to be againſt North America alſo: but the fact is, that the government of that country, profiting of a *credit ariſing from the progreſſive improvements, and advancing commerce of it* (which all the world ſees, or it would be no credit) hath, by a refined policy eſtabliſhed a circulation of paper-money to an amount that is aſtoniſhing; that from the immenſe quantity it ſhould depreciate, is nothing to this argument; *for*

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it has had its effect. The * Americans, therefore, as well as England, can ſpare their gold and ſilver, can do without it. The efflux, therefore, of the precious metals, is no proof of its being a balance againſt them. On the contrary, they being able to go on without gold and ſilver, but wanting other articles, without which they could not go on, neither in the progreſſion of their improvements, in the advance of their commerce, nor in the conduct of their war matters; the metallic money is in part hoarded, and in part goes out, and thoſe articles of more uſe to them are imported. Does it not then turn out to be a fact, that this objection, which is always given as an † inſtance of weakneſs in America, under whieh ſhe muſt ſink, turns out, in the true ſtate of it, an inſtance of the *moſt extenſive amplitude and growth*

* My information ſays, that there is now locked up in America more than *Three Millions*, Engliſh money, in gold and ſilver ſpecies, which when their Paper is annihilated will come forth. Editor.

† Would it not be well for England, if while ſhe triumphs over this mote in her ſiſter's eye, ſhe would attend to the beam in her own, and prepare for the conſequences of her own Paper Money! Editor.

growth of ſtate, which would not have been conſidered, or even ſeen, had the objection not been made.

I will here, therefore, from this compariſon of the ſpirit of civilizing activity in the old and in the new world, as one ſees it in its application to agriculture, handicrafts, and mechanics, and finally in an active commerce, ſpatiating on an amplitude of baſe, the natural communion of a great country, and riſing in a natural progreſſion, venture to aſſert, that in this point, NORTH AMERICA HAS ADVANCED, AND IS EVERY DAY ADVANCING, TO GROWTH OF STATE, WITH A STEADY AND CONTINUALLY ACCELERATING MOTION, OF WHICH THERE HAS NEVER YET BEEN ANY EXAMPLE IN EUROPE.

But farther; when one looks to the progreſſive POPULATION which this foſtering happineſs doth, of courſe, produce, one cannot but ſee, in North America, that God's firſt bleſſing, "*Be fruitful and multiply; repleniſh the earth and ſubdue it*," hath operated in full manifeſtation of his will. In Europe, on the contrary, where a wretched, ſelfiſh, ſelf-obſtructing policy, hath

hath rendered barren, not only fruitful countries, but even the womb itſelf; one may ſay, in melancholly truth, that the firſt curſe, "I will greatly multiply thy ſorrow in procreation; in ſorrow ſhalt thou bring forth children," ſeems to have been executed in judgment. That wretched ſtate of the country and people, which hath rendered fruitfulneſs a matter of ſorrow, and children a burthen, hath arreſted the progreſs of population. The apprehenſions of having a family to ſupport when the poor parents know not where or how to provide a home and ſuſtenance; the dread of bringing into the world (objects ſo dear to all parents) who are to be born in a ſtate not much better than ſlavery, hath palſied the very idea of marriage, the fruits of which are to be brought forth in ſorrow. * In North America children are a bleſſing, are riches and ſtrength to the parents; and happy *is every man that hath his quiver full of them.* As the nature

* Magnum quidam eſt incitamentum, tolere liberos in ſpem alimentorum, majus tamen in ſpem libertatis, in ſpem ſecuritatis.

Plin. Paneg. 1. § 27.

and cauſes of this amazing population hath been ſo fully diſcuſſed, and with decided demonſtration, explained in "*Obſervations concerning the increaſe of mankind, the peopling of countries, &c.*" I ſhall refer thoſe who think it neceſſary to purſue this point of the compariſon further, to that little treatiſe; and ſhall proceed here to confirm it by examples of the actual encreaſe ſtated in authentic facts.

The province of *Maſſachuſett's Bay* had inhabitants in the year

1722-----94,000
1742----164,000
* 1751----164,484
1761----216,000
1765----255,500
1771----292,000
1773----300,000

In the colony of CONNECTICUT the inhabitants, at the beginning of laſt war, and of the preſent, ſtood

1756-----129,994
1774-----257,356

Obſerve here, that the numbers, by which theſe

* N. B. A great depopulation, by the ſmall-pox and war, in that period.

theſe people have thus encreaſed, are not aided by any accretion of ſtrangers; but, on the contrary, they appear leſs than they would actually be, if all thoſe people whom the colony loſt in the courſe of laſt war, and all thoſe who, in very great numbers, emigrated to the weſtward ſince the war, could have been added; as it is, they have encreaſed nearly the double in eighteen years. As it may be a matter of curioſity, and not irrelevant to the argument, I will here inſert a particular inſtance of fecundity in a family in Connecticut. Mary Loomis (or Loomax) born at Windſor in Connecticut - - - - 1680
Married John Buel of Lebanon in do. 1696
Died at Litchfield in do. - - 1768

Deſcendants living at her death:

Child.	Gr. Child.	G. Gr. Child.	Fourth Gen.
10	75	232	19
Died bef. her 3	26	42	3
13	101	274	22

Tot. deſcendants { Alive at her death 336
Died before her 74

Tot. encreaſe born - - 410

The Province NEW YORK.

1756------96,776
1771-----168,007
1774-----182,251.

The Dominions of VIRGINIA.

1756-----173,316
1764-----200,000
1774-----300,000

The Province of SOUTH CAROLINA.

1750------64,000
1770--- *115,000

The Colony of RHODE ISLAND.

1730------15,302
1748-9----28,439.

As there never was a regulated general militia in PENNSYLVANIA, which could enable thoſe, whoſe buſineſs it was, to get accounts of the increaſe of population in that province, founded on authentic liſts, it hath been variouſly eſtimated on ſpeculation. Although there was a continued import

* This is ſuppoſed to be below the actual number, the great increaſe of popula ion being, in the back countries, not then included in the regulations of the policy. Editor.

import for many years of Iriſh and Foreign emigrants into Philadelphia (of which I have the numbers) yet, informed as I am, that many of theſe paſſed through the province, and ſettled either directly, or as ſoon as their indented ſervice expired, in other provinces, I think the progreſs of population may be reckoned here alſo by the ordinary courſe of procreation, as in other provinces and colonies; and by collating different eſtimates, I think I may venture to ſay, that its population, when I was in the country, advanced in a ratio between that of Maſſachuſett's-bay and Virginia. The city of PHILADELPHIA, indeed, from circumſtances of trade, advanced with a more rapid motion, of which fact the following is a ſtatement in proof.

PHILADELPHIA had in the year		houſes
Inhabitants on eſtimate	1749	2076
from 16,000 to 18,000	1753	2300
31,318 to 35,000	1760	2969
	1769	4474

To ſpeak of the population of the country in general; there were at the beginning of the war, 1754 and 5, various calculations and eſtimates

mates made of the numbers of the people on the continent. Thoſe who were ſanguine, and thought they could correct the materials from which the eſtimate was to be made, fancied they were juſtified in making the amount of the numbers of the people *one million and a half.* Thoſe who did not admit ſo much ſpeculation into the calculation, but adhered cloſer to the facts of the liſts as they were made out, could not ſtate the amount at more than one million two hundred and fifty thouſand.

The eſtimate of the numbers of the people, ſaid to have been taken by Congreſs in September, 1774, makes them 3,026,678; but when I ſee how that account, from which the eſtimate is made, differs, in many particular articles, from what I have ventured to ſtate as authentic returns, I am convinced that there muſt have been great ſcope of ſpeculation taken and allowed in that eſtimate. I have ſeen another eſtimate which makes the number, at a later period, after two or three years of war, 2,810,000. In what I am going to advance, I am myſelf rather reaſoning

reaſoning upon eſtimate than authentic fact, for I have not ſeen the returns of *all* the provinces; yet from what I have now ſeen, compared with what I have known formerly, I do verily believe, and therefore venture to ſay, that 2,141,307 would turn out the number neareſt to the real amount in the year 1774. But what an amazing progreſs of population is it, which, in eighteen or nineteen years, has added near a million of people to a million two hundred and fifty thouſand, although a war was maintained in that country for ſeven years of that period.

In this view, one ſees again the amplitude of the community unfolding its progreſſive increaſe and growth of State, beyond any example that any of the Powers of Europe can bring into compariſon in the account.

But more; theſe numbers are not a mere multitude of dwellers, *fruges conſumere nati.* The frame and model of theſe communities, which hath, from the firſt eſtabliſhment of them, always taken place, (Pennſylvania excepted) is ſuch as hath enrolled

enrolled every common ſubject, by the poll, to be a ſoldier; and, by rotation of duty, has *trained*, to a certain degree, a quarter part, or about 535,326 *of theſe people to the actual uſe of arms*, ſo that the country has this number not ſeparate from the civil community, and formed into a diſtinct body of regular ſoldiers, but remaining united to the internal power of the community, as it were, *the national picquet guard*, always prepared for defence. I am aware, that even theſe numbers, being the numbers of a mere militia, will appear contemptible to the regular Captains and Generals of Europe; yet, experience in fact hath always evinced that, for that very reaſon, that they are not a ſeparate body, but members of the body of the community, they became *a real and effective national defence*, have toes that are roots, and arms which will bring forth the fruits of external protection, with internal ſecurity and peace. This eſtabliſhment is an organized part of the body, and can be maintained at all times, and even in time of ſervice, at little more expence than the

the ordinary vital circulation requires. The real greatneſs and ſtrength of the State ariſes from and conſiſts in this * " that every common ſubject, by the poll, is fit to make a ſoldier, and not certain conditions and degrees of men only." I cannot cloſe this part of my reaſoning better than in the ſentiment in which the ſame great Stateſman and Philoſopher gives his opinion on the matter, " The true greatneſs of the State conſiſteth eſſentially in population of breed of men, and where there is valour in the individuals, and a military diſpoſition in the frame of the community; where all, and not particular conditions and degrees only, make profeſſion of arms, and bear them in their country's defence."

Great as this amplitude of the community may be at its baſe; far advanced as it may be in the progreſs of its civilizing activity; eſtabliſhed in intereſt and power as it may be by an active commerce; and ſecurely fortified as it may ſeem in the union of its military ſpirit; yet all this, without the ſoul of Government, would prove but

* Ld. Verulam.

a phantom. So far as the vitality of Government can animate the organized being, and ſo far as the ſpirit of Government can actuate the will of the whole, ſo far, and no farther, can the amplitude and growth of the State extend.

If the dominions of an Empire be extended, while, by reaſon of a narrowneſs or weakneſs in the vital ſpring of Government, the ſpirit of Government cannot ſo extend, as to give vital union to its diſtant parts, or, by an union of will, to actuate the *conſenſus obedientium* in thoſe remote parts, the extenſion of the dominions works not to amplitude and growth, but to the diſſolution of State. Such Government will call thoſe remote parts, external provinces; and becauſe it hath not the virtue or the vigour to ſo extend the ſpirit of Government to them, as that, while they obey the will, they feel themſelves vitally united to it, it will aſſume the tone of Force. But as the natural internal force will not act againſt itſelf, that is not the force which Government in ſuch caſe can uſe; Government, brought into ſuch an unhappy

unhappy caſe, muſt attempt therefore to act by external, unnatural force ſent from without. But, alas! any force that (even with violent temporary exertions) it can ſend to theſe extremities (without draining itſelf at heart) will bear no compariſon with the natural internal force of thoſe provinces, and can have no effect but that of alienation and diſſolution. When ſuch a caſe exiſts, the dominions of an Empire, which were not too great for a right ſpirit of Government, but which, actuated by that ſpirit, was in a continual progreſſion to amplitude and growth of State, are ſoon found too great for the falſe and unnatural ſpirit of Force. Let us here view this world (by the fatality here deſcribed) now ſeparated and fallen off from that vital union by which it was once an organized member of the Engliſh Empire: let us view it *as it now is*, AN INDEPENDENT STATE *that hath taken its equal ſtation amidſt the nations of the earth*; as an Empire, the ſpirit of whoſe government extends from the centre to its extreme parts, exactly in proportion as the will of thoſe parts doth reciprocally unite

in that center. Here we ſhall find (as hath always been found) "That univerſal participation of council creates reciprocation of univerſal obedience. The ſeat of government will be well informed of the ſtate and condition of the remote and extreme parts; and the remote and extreme parts, by participation in the legiſlature, will from ſelf-conſciouſneſs, be informed and ſatisfied in the reaſons and neceſſity of the meaſures of government. Theſe parts will conſider themſelves as acting in every grant that is made, and in every tax which is impoſed. This conſideration alone will give efficacy to government, and will create that *conſenſus obedientium*, on which only the permanent power of the imperium of a ſtate can be founded: this will give extenſion and ſtability of empire as far as it can extend its dominions."

This might have been, indeed, the ſpirit of the Britiſh Empire, America being a part of it: *This is the ſpirit* of the government of the new Empire of America, Great Britain being no part of it. It is a Vitality, liable, indeed, to many diſorders,

many

many dangerous diſeaſes; but it is young and ſtrong, and will ſtruggle, by the vigour of internal healing principles of life, againſt thoſe evils, and ſurmount them; like the infant Hercules, it will ſtrangle theſe ſerpents in its cradle. Its ſtrength will grow with its years, and it will eſtabliſh its conſtitution, and perfect adultneſs in growth of ſtate.

To this greatneſs of empire it will certainly ariſe. That it is removed three thouſand miles diſtant from its enemy; that it lies on another ſide of the globe where it has no enemy; that it is earth-born, and like a giant ready to run its courſe, are not alone the grounds and reaſons on which a ſpeculatiſt may pronounce this. The foſtering care with which the rival Powers of Europe will nurſe it, enſures its eſtabliſhment beyond all doubt or danger.

Where a ſtate is founded on ſuch amplitude of baſe as the union of territory in this new world forms; whoſe communion is actuated by ſuch a ſpirit of civilization, where all is enterprize and experiment; where

where Agriculture, led by this ſpirit, hath made diſcoveries in ſo many new and peculiar articles of culture, and hath carried the ordinary produce of bread-corn to a degree that has wrought it to a ſtaple export, for the ſupply of the old world; whoſe fiſheries are mines producing more ſolid riches, to thoſe who work them, than all the ſilver of Potoſi; where experimental application of the underſtanding, as well as labour to the ſeveral branches of the mechanics, hath invented ſo many new and ingenious improvements; where the Arts and Sciences, Legiſlation and Politics, are ſoaring with a ſtrong and extended pinion, to ſuch heights of philoſophic induction; where, under this bleſſedneſs, Population has multiplied like the ſeeds of the harveſt; where the ſtrength of theſe numbers, taking a military form, "*ſhall lift up itſelf as a young lion*;" where Trade, of a moſt extenſive orbit, circulated in its own ſhipping, hath wrought up this effort of the Community to an *active Commerce*; where all theſe powers unite and take the form of eſtabliſhment of Empire; I may ſuppoſe that I cannot err, nor give offence to the

greateſt

greateſt Power in Europe, when, upon a compariſon of the ſtate of mankind, and of the ſtates of thoſe Powers in Europe, with that of America, I venture to ſuggeſt to their contemplation, that America is growing too large for any government in Europe to govern as ſubordinate; that the Government of North America is too firmly fixed in the hands of its own community, to be either directed by other hands, or taken out of the hands in which it is: and that the power in men and arms (be they contemned or contemptible, as the wiſdom of Europe may ſuppoſe) is too much to be forced at the diſtance of three thouſand miles.

If I were to addreſs myſelf to a philoſopher, upon a ſuppoſed adventitious ſtate of the planetary ſyſtem, and aſk him, whether, if an accretion of matter ſhould enlarge any ſattellite till it grew into magnitude, which balanced with its primary; whether that globe, ſo encreaſed, could any longer be held by any of the powers of nature in the orbit of a ſecondary planet; or whether any *external force* could hold it

thus

thus reſtrained; he will anſwer me directly, No. If I aſk the father of a family, whether, after his ſon is grown up to man's eſtate, to full ſtrength of body equal to the parent, to full power of mind and vigour of reaſon; whether he can be held in the ſame ſubordinate pupillage, and will ſuffer himſelf to be treated, under correction, as aforetime in his childhood? The father will be ſorry to be aſked the queſtion, and be willing to evade it; but he muſt anſwer, No. Yet, if I aſk an European politician, who learns by hearſay, and thinks by habit, and who ſuppoſes of courſe that things muſt go on, as they have always gone on; whether, if North America, grown up, by a diſtinct and independent intereſt in their œconomy and commerce, to a magnitude in nature, policy, and power, will remain dependent upon, and be governed by, any of the metropolitan ſtates on the other ſide of the globe; he will confidently anſwer, Yes. He will have ready a thouſand reaſons why it muſt be ſo, although fact riſes in his face to the very contrary. There have been

been, and there are, periods in the History of Man, when, instead of *the politician* being employed to find out reasons to explain facts, he and all about him shall be *busied to invent, or make, facts, that shall suit predetermined reasonings.* Truth, however, will prevail, and things will always finally prove themselves to be what they are.

What has been here said is not meant to establish proof of the *Fact, which is in event*; but so to explain it, as that the consequences of it may be fairly and clearly seen. As to the existence of the facts, or the effect of them in operation, it is of no import. THE PRESENT COMBINATION OF EVENTS, whether attended to or not, whether *wrought by wisdom* into the system of Europe or not, *will, forcing its way* by the vigour of natural causes, *be found there* in all its ascendant operations. These will have their effects, and Europe in the internal order and œconomy of its communities, in the courses of its commerce, will be affected by it. The statesman cannot prevent its existence, nor resist its operation. He may embroil

 his

his own affairs; but it will become his beſt wiſdom and his duty to his ſovereign and the people, that his meaſures coincide and co-operate with it.

The firſt of the conſequences is, the Effect which this Empire, in a new and ſeparate world, *become a great naval Power*, will have on the commerce, and perhaps by changes introduced in that, on the political ſyſtem of the old world.

Whoever has read and underſtands any thing of the ſtate of the Hanſeatick League in Europe, and conſiders it's progreſs, firſt by it's poſſeſſing all the commanding articles of the commerce of the then world, and the commercial command of all the great rivers through which that commerce muſt circulate; next it's being the carrier of the trade of Europe; and finally it's forming, on this aſcendant intereſt, by the means of it's ſhipping and ſeamen, *an active naval Power*, that in all caſes could attract the intereſt of, in many caſes reſiſt, and even command the landed Powers; whoever, viewing this, conſiders that this League was made up of

a number of towns, ſeparate from, and unconnected with each other, and included within the dominions of other Powers and States, of a number of individual towns, who had *no natural communion*, and only a forced and artificial union amongſt each other; whoever, duly marking this at the baſis, follows the progreſs of the power, not only commercial but naval and political, which this League, under all theſe natural diſadvantages, eſtabliſhed throughout all Europe, will be at no loſs to ſee on how much more ſolid baſis the power of North-America ſtands founded, how much faſter and with more rapid increaſe (unobſtructed with thoſe difficulties which the League met with) it muſt grow up, and to what an extent and aſcendancy of intereſt, carrying on the greateſt part of the commerce, and commanding the greateſt part of the ſhipping of the world, this great commercial, naval, American Power muſt ſoon arrive at. If this League, without having the natural foundation of a political body, a landed root, could grow, by an active commerce and the effect of navigation, to

ſuch power as we know it did poſſeſs, and acted with; if this League, of parts ſeparated by Nature, and only joined by the artificial cement of force, could become a great political body, exiſting, as it were vitally, by a ſet of regulations of *internal* police, and acting *externally* with an intereſt and power that took a lead, and even an aſcendancy in wars and treaties, what muſt the States of North-America, removed at a diſtance of almoſt half the globe, from all the obſtructions of rival Powers, having at it's root a landed dominion, *peculiarly adapted to the communion of commerce and union of power*, and already grown up in an almoſt univerſal active commerce, riſe up to in their progreſs? As this Hanſeatick League grew up to power, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, and even France, ſought it's alliance (under the common veil of pride) by offers of becoming it's Protectors. England alſo, growing faſt into a commercial Power, had commercial arrangements, by treaty, with it. Juſt ſo now will the Sovereigns of Europe, juſt ſo now have the great Bourbon

Bourbon Compact, the greateſt Power in Europe, courted the friendſhip of America. Standing on ſuch a baſis, and growing up under ſuch auſpices, one may pronounce of America as was ſaid of Rome, *Civitas, incredible eſt memoratu, adeptâ libertate quantum brevi creverit.*

I mark here *what may be in event*, from a view and conſideration of *what has been in fact*, merely to obviate a ſuſpicion of my reaſoning being theory and viſion.

In the courſe of this American war, all the Powers of Europe (at leaſt the maritime Powers) will, one after another, as ſome of the firſt leading Powers have already done, apply to the States of America for a ſhare in their trade, and for a ſettlement of the terms on which they may carry it on with them. America will then become the ARBITRESS of the commercial, and perhaps (as the Seven United Belgic Provinces were in the year 1647) the *Mediatrix of peace*, and of the political buſineſs of the world.

If North America follows the principles on which Nature hath eſtabliſhed her; and if

if the European alliances which ſhe has already made do not involve her in, and ſeduce her to, a ſeries of conduct deſtructive of that ſyſtem, which thoſe principles lead to; ſhe muſt obſerve, that as Nature hath ſeparated her from Europe, and hath eſtabliſhed her *alone on a great continent, far removed from the old world, and all its embroiled* intereſts and wrangling politics, without an enemy or a rival, or the entanglement of alliances* "I. That it is contrary to the nature of her exiſtence, and of conſequence to her intereſt, that ſhe ſhould have any connections of politics with Europe, other than merely commercial; and, even on that ground, to obſerve invariably, the caution of not being involved in either the quarrels, or the wars of the Europeans in Europe. II. That the real ſtate of America is, that of being the common ſource of ſupply *to Europe in general*; that her true *intereſt* is, therefore, that of being a FREE PORT to all Europe at large; and that all Europe at large ſhould be THE COMMON MARKET for American

* Common Senſe.

merican exports. The true intereſt, therefore, of America is, not to form any partial connexions with any part to the excluſion of the reſt."

If England had attended to her own intereſt, as connected with that of America, ſhe would have known, that "it is the commerce, and not the conqueſt of America, by which ſhe could be benefitted;" and if ſhe would, even yet, with temper, liſten to her true intereſt, ſhe would ſtill find, "that that commerce would, in a great meaſure, continue with the ſame benefit, were the two countries as independent of each other as France and Spain, becauſe, in many articles, neither of them can go to a better market."

What is here ſaid, is ſpoken of them, as influenced under their preſent habits and cuſtoms of life:---Alienation may change all this.

Be theſe leſſer private intereſts diſpoſed of, as the fate of kingdoms determines: The views of this memoir are directed only to the general conſequences of the general combination of events.

The

The firſt, which in all human probability will, ſooner or later, become the great leading principle between the old and new world, is, that North America will become a FREE PORT to all the nations of the world indiſcriminately; and will expect, inſiſt on, and demand, in fair reciprocity, a FREE MARKET in all thoſe nations with whom ſhe trades. This will, (if ſhe forgets not, nor forſakes her real nature) be the baſis of all her commercial treaties.

If ſhe adheres to this principle, ſhe muſt be, in the courſe of time, the chief carrier of the commerce of the whole world; becauſe, unleſs the ſeveral powers of Europe become to each other, likewiſe, FREE PORTS and FREE MARKETS, America alone will come to and act there, with an aſcendant intereſt that muſt command every advantage to be derived from them.

The commerce of North America being no longer the property of one country only, where the articles of its ſupply were either locked up, or came thence to market through a monopoly; theſe articles will come

come freely, and be found now, in all the markets of Europe at large; not only moderated by, but moderating the prices of the like articles of Europe. The furrs and peltry will meet thoſe of the north-eaſtern parts of Europe; and neither the one nor the other can any longer be eſtimated by the advantages to be taken of an excluſive vent. Advantages of this kind, on the article of *iron*, and on *naval ſtores*, have frequently been aimed at by Sweden; and the monopoly in them was more than once uſed as an inſtrument of hoſtility againſt England. This occaſioned the meaſure which the Parliament of that country took of granting bounties on theſe articles, the growth and produce of America, which meaſure gave ſource to the export of the ſame articles from North America: theſe, when they come freely to the European markets, co-operating with the effect which thoſe of Ruſſia have there, will break that monopoly: for Ruſſia alſo, by the conqueſt of Livonia, and the advancement of her civilization, has become a ſource of ſupply in theſe ſame articles to a great extent. All

Europe, by the *intervention of this American commerce* in her markets, will find the good effects of *a fair competition, both in abundance of ſupply, and in moderation of price.* Nay, even England, who hath loſt the monopoly, will be no great loſer on this ſcore: ſhe will find this natural competition as advantageous to her, as the monopoly which, in bounties, and other coſts of protection, ſhe paid ſo dear for.

Ship-building, and the ſcience, as well as art of navigation, having made ſuch progreſs in America, ſo that they are able to build and to navigate cheaper than any country in Europe, even cheaper than Holland with all her œconomy can, there will ariſe in Europe a competition, at leaſt in this branch of commerce. In this branch the Dutch will find powerful rivalſhip from that maritime people, the Americans. The Dutch will alſo find, in the markets of Europe, a competition in the branch of the *Fiſheries.*

The *rice* and the *bread corn* which the Americans have been able to export, to an amount that ſupplied, in the European market,

ket, the defect ariſing from England's with-holding her exports, will, when that export ſhall again take place, keep down depreſſed the agriculture of Portugal and Spain, and, in ſome meaſure, of France alſo, if the policy of thoſe countries does not change the regulations, and order of their internal œconomy.

The peculiar articles of ſupply to be had as yet from America only, and which the markets of Europe ſo much ſeek after and demand, will not only give to the Americans the command of the market in thoſe articles, but enable them, by annexing aſſortments of other articles of commerce, to produce theſe latter articles alſo, with preference and advantage in thoſe markets.

The *refuſe fiſh*, *the flour*, *the maize*, the *barrelled meat*, the *live-ſtock*, and *various leſſer articles of ſubſiſtence*, and the *lumber*, all carried in American ſhipping to the Weſt-India Iſlands, directly from North America: the African ſlaves carried, by a circuitous trade, in American ſhipping alſo, to the Weſt-India markets: the taking from thence the meloſſes; and the aiding thoſe iſlands with American ſhipping, in the carriage alſo of their produce, muſt ever

command and have the *aſcendancy in the commerce* of that part of the world; if this aſcendancy even ſtops here.

But to cloſe the conſideration of the effects which the *commercial activity* of this New Empire will have, one may ſum up all in this, that the cheap manner in which the Americans can, at preſent, produce their articles of ſupply; the low rates at which they can carry them to the European markets, ſelling alſo their ſhipping there; the ſmall profits at which their merchants are content to trade, muſt lower the price of the like articles in the European market; muſt oblige the European merchant alſo to be content with leſs profit; muſt occaſion ſome reform of the home œconomy of Europe in raiſing, and of the order of Police in bringing to the market, the native articles of ſupply of that Continent. But further; theſe people by their principle of being a *free port* in America, and having a *free market* in Europe; by their policy of holding themſelves, "as they are remote from all the wrangling politics, ſo neutral in all the wars of Europe:"

by

by their ſpirit of enterprize in all the quarters of the globe, will oblige the nations of Europe to call forth within themſelves ſuch a ſpirit, as muſt change entirely its commercial ſyſtem alſo.

But will a people whoſe Empire ſtands ſingly predominant in a great Continent; and who, before they lived under their own Government, had puſhed their ſpirit of adventure in ſearch of a North-Weſt paſſage to Aſia, which, as being their own diſcovery, they meant to have claimed as their own peculiar right: will ſuch a people ſuffer in their borders the eſtabliſhment of ſuch a monopoly as the European Hudſon's Bay Company? Will that enterprizing ſpirit, which has forced a moſt extenſive commerce in the two Bays of Honduras and Campeachy, and on the Spaniſh main, and who have gone to Falkland's Iſlands in ſearch only of whales, be ſtopped at Cape Horn, or not paſs the Cape of Good Hope? It will not be long after their eſtabliſhment as an Empire, before they will be found trading in the South-Sea and in China. The Dutch will hear of them in Spice Iſlands,

Iſlands, to which the Dutch can have no claim; and which thoſe enterprizing people will conteſt, on the very ground, and by the very arguments which the Dutch themſelves uſed to conteſt the ſame liberty againſt Portugal.

By the conſtant intercommunion that there will be between Europe and America; by the conſtant correſpondence and growing acquaintance that there will be towards the latter, it will be as well known, in general, as Europe: by the continual paſſage to and from that Continent; by attention to the nature of the winds, which, however variable, have their general courſes; by repeated obſervations on the currents in the Atlantic, which (beſide the general current of the Gulf ſtream and its lee-currents) ſet according to the prevailing winds, in various courſes between the ſhoaler and broken ground; the paſſage will be better underſtood, and become every day ſhorter; America will ſeem every day to approach nearer and nearer to Europe. When the alarm which the idea of going to a *ſtrange* and a *diſtant* country gives to the homely notions of an

European

European manufacturer or peaſant, or even to thoſe of a country gentleman, ſhall be thus worn out, a thouſand repeated repulſive feelings, reſpecting their preſent home; a thouſand attractive motives, reſpecting the ſettlement which they will look to in America, will raiſe a ſpirit of adventure, and become the irreſiſtible cauſe of an almoſt *general Emigration to that New World.* Nothing but ſome future, wiſe, and benevolent policy in Europe, or ſome ſpirit of the evil one, which may mix in the policy of America, can prevent it.

The Great Creator hath ſtationed a Cherubim, with a flaming ſword, that turns every way, and meets man at every avenue through which he would paſs in quitting life itſelf. Unleſs the great Potentates of Europe can ſtation ſome ſuch univerſal, and equally efficient, power of reſtraint to prevent man's quitting this Old World, multitudes of their people will emigrate to the New One. Many of the moſt uſeful enterprizing Spirits, and much of the active property will go there alſo. Exchange hath taught the ſtateſman of the world long ago,

that

that they cannot confine money: and the ſtate of the Empire of theſe European ſtates muſt fall back to an old feudal community, in which its own people are locked up, and from which all others are excluded, or *commerce will open the door to Emigration.* The Sovereigns of Europe, who are cognizant of thoſe movements, and who know how to eſtimate their effects, muſt feel what an adventitious weight hence, alſo, will be added to the encreaſing ſcale.

Such, upon a patient inveſtigation through paſt experience doth the ſtate and circumſtances of things, in Europe and in America reſpectively, appear to the Writer of this paper: ſuch, upon a comparative view of the two worlds, in thoſe points which lead to amplitude and growth of ſtate, doth the combination of events, in which they are mixed, appear. The Memorialiſt attempts not to reaſon upon the matter. He aims only, and that with all humility, to point out to the contemplation of thoſe who muſt act upon it, and who ſhould therefore reaſon, the natural, or, at leaſt, probable tendency of effects flowing from

from it: and how theſe relations of things ---*Legeſque et fœdera rerum*, are forming what he conceives will be the New Syſtem. He is neither ſo unpractiſed in the world, no ſo abſurd, as to attempt to eſtabliſh theſe practical truths by argument. He knows the influence that ſettled principles and decided maxims have on the public as well as private opinion, that men meaſure every degree of proof, and even demonſtration itſelf, by them. The ſublime politician, who ſpatiates in the regions of predetermined ſyſtems, which no experience can ever enlighten, will not ſtoop to reaſon. The man of the world, narrowed by a ſelfiſh experience, which is worſe than ignorance, will neither reaſon nor feel. Beſides, if individuals had direct and practical conviction of the exiſtence of the facts herein ſtated, and did actually feel the truth of the effects; yet it requires ſomething more materially operative to move collective bodies of men. It is but ſlowly that nations relinquiſh any ſyſtem which hath derived authority from time and habit; and where that habit paſſes for experience, and that authority for truth.

When contrary effects, conſtantly and uniformly oppoſing themſelves to the activity of error, ſhall make men heſitate, and raiſe ſome ſuſpicions *that all is not right in the old ſyſtem:* when Experience, obſerving (as it were) two ſhips ſailing on the great ocean, ſhall ſee that while the ſails of the *one*, inſtead of being ſo ſet as to draw together, and to give the veſſel its due courſe, do counteract each other, and obſtruct its courſe; that it is repeatedly taken a-back, and with all its buſtle and activity makes but little way; the *other*, ſetting all its ſails *as* the *nature* of the elements *requires*, and ſo as all to draw together, doth, in a one quiet unſhifting trim, and in a one uniform ſteady courſe, make great way, ſo as to ſail down the other out of ſight: when Experience, having obſerved this, ſhall apply it to what he may obſerve in the different effects of the different ſyſtems of the Old and New World; Reaſon will be heard, Truth will have its force, and Nature act with all its powers. Until ſome great event ſhall produce this frame and temper of mind in the European world,

world, all reaſoning will become the mere theory of a viſionair; all argument the downright impertinence of an obtruding miſſionair.

Thoſe Sovereigns of Europe who have been led by the office-ſyſtems and wordly wiſdom of their Miniſters; who ſeeing things in thoſe lights, have deſpiſed the unfaſhioned aukward youth of America; and have neglected to form connections, or at leaſt to interweave their intereſts with thoſe of theſe riſing ſtates: when they ſhall find the ſyſtem of this New Empire not only obſtructing, but ſuperſeding the old ſyſtem of Europe, and croſſing upon the effects of all their ſettled maxims and accuſtomed meaſures, they will call upon theſe their Miniſters and wiſe men, "*Come curſe me this people, for they are too mighty for me.*" Their ſtateſmen will be dumb, but the ſpirit of truth will anſwer, "*How ſhall I curſe whom God hath not curſed? Or how ſhall I defy, whom the Lord hath not defied? From the top of the rock I ſee them, from the hills I behold them. Lo! the people ſhall* DWELL ALONE,

and ſhall NOT BE RECKONED AMONGST THE NATIONS." America is ſeparated from Europe; ſhe will dwell alone: She will have no connection with the politics of Europe; and ſhe will not be reckoned amongſt the Nations.

On the contrary, thoſe Sovereigns of Europe who ſhall call upon their Miniſters to ſtate to them things *as they do really exiſt in Nature*, and treating thoſe *things as being what they are*, ſhall require of theſe Miniſters, that they take their ſyſtem from Nature, inſtead of labouring in vain, to the miſery of mankind the mean while, to force Nature to their predetermined courſes and ſyſtem: And who ſhall be in ſuch circumſtances and ſituation, as to be able to form, if not the earlieſt, yet the moſt ſure and natural connection with North America, as being, what ſhe is, AN INDEPENDENT STATE, THE MARKET OF AND A FREE PORT TO EUROPE; AS THAT BEING WHICH MUST HAVE A FREE MARKET IN EUROPE, will (coinciding with the movements, and partaking of the effects of the new ſyſtem) become

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the principal leading Power in Europe, in regulating the courſes of the reſt, and in ſettling the common center of all.

England is the State that is in thoſe circumſtances and in that ſituation; the ſimilar modes of living and thinking, the ſame manners and ſame faſhions, the ſame language and old habits of national love, impreſſed in the heart and not yet effaced, the very indentings of the fracture whereat North-America ſtands broken off from her, all conſpire naturally to *a rejuncture by alliance*. If, in the forming that juncture, England, no longer aſſuming to be what ſhe no longer is, will treat America, and all other Beings, as what *they really are*, ſhe might ſtill have the aſcendancy in trade and navigation, might ſtill have a more ſolid and leſs invidious power than that

Magni Nominis umbra

with which ſhe braves the whole world; ſhe might yet have an active leading intereſt amongſt the Powers of Europe. But ſhe will not. As though the hand of judgment was upon her, England *will not ſee the things which make for her peace*.

France,

France, on the contrary, already (and other States will follow this example) *acknowledging thoſe States to be what they are,* has formed alliances with them on terms of perfect equality and reciprocity. And behold the aſcendant to which ſhe directly roſe from that politic humiliation.

There never was a wiſer or firmer ſtep taken by any eſtabliſhed Power, than that which the New States in America took for their *firſt footing* in this alliance; there never was more addreſs, art, or policy ſhewn by any State, than France has given proof of in the ſame; when both agreed and became allied on terms which exclude no other Power from enjoying the ſame benefits, by a like treaty.

Can it be ſuppoſed that other States, conceiving that the excluſive trade of England towards America is laid open, will not deſire, and will not have, their ſhare of it, and of the benefits to be derived from it? They certainly will. Here then come forward *the Beginnings of changes* in the European ſyſtem.

There are too courſes in which this general

general intercommunion of commerce, betwixt Europe and North-America, may come into operation: the one will lye in ſpecial and particular treaties of commerce, with ſpecific regulations and tariffs, made ſeparately, from time to time, with each ſeparate State: the other may come into operation by ALL THE MARITIME STATES OF EUROPE, either previous to, or in conſequence of ſuch ſeparate treaties; either previous to their engaging in a general war, or upon the general ſettlement of a peace, MEETING IN SOME CONGRESS to regulate, amongſt themſelves, as well as with North-America, the FREE PORT, on one hand, and the FREE MARKET on the other; as alſo, general regulations of commerce and navigation, ſuch as muſt ſuit *this free-trader, now common to them all, indifferently, and without preference.* Such regulations, in the firſt place, muſt exclude all monopoly of this ſource of ſupply and courſe of trade; and ſo far make an eſſential change in the commercial ſyſtem: ſuch regulations, not having reference only to America, but reciprocal references between

tween all the contracting parties, trading now under different circumſtances, and ſtanding towards each other in different predicaments, muſt neceſſarily change the whole of that ſyſtem in Europe.

The American will come to market in his own ſhipping and will claim *the ocean as common*; will claim a *navigation reſtrained by no laws but the law of nations*, reformed as the riſing criſis requires; will claim *a free market*, not only for the goods he brings, whenceſoever he brings them, but alſo for the ſhips in which he brings them; the ſale of his ſhipping will make part of his commerce. America being a free port to all Europe, the American will bring to Europe *not only his own peculiar ſtaple produce*, but every ſpecies of his produce which the market of Europe can take off: he will expect to be free to offer to ſale in the European market, every ſpecies of wrought materials, which he can make to anſwer in that market: and farther, as his commerce ſubſiſts, and is carried on by a circuitous interchange with other countries and regions, whence he brings articles,

cles, not ſimply for his own conſumption, but as exchangeable articles, with which to trade in foreign markets; he will claim, as one of the conditions of the *free market*, that theſe foreign articles, as well as his own produce, ſhall be conſidered as free for him to import in his own ſhipping, to ſuch market. Thoſe States who refuſe this at firſt, ſeeing others acquieſce in it, and ſeeing alſo how they profit by having articles of ſupply and trade brought ſo much cheaper to them, will be obliged, in their own defence, and to maintain their balance in the commercial world, to accede to the ſame liberty. Hence again, even if the American ſhould not, by theſe means, become the aſcendant intereſt in the carrying-trade, and in ſhipping and ſeamen, a moſt eſſential change muſt ariſe in the European ſyſtem.

Again; the American raiſes his produce cheaper, and navigates cheaper, than any other can: his ſtaple commodities are articles which he *alone* can ſupply; theſe will come to the market aſſorted with others, which he thus can *moſt conveniently* ſupply; and, unleſs the ſame liberty and freedom

of trade, which he enjoys, be reciprocally given and taken, by the European Powers, amongſt each other, he will come to the European market on terms which no other can.

Nor is it in the articles which the American brings to ſale, but in his manner of trading for thoſe articles which he purchaſes, that the community in Europe will be affected, benefitted, and improved. There will be found not only a fair competition in the ſales, but the *peculiar activity* of the American will raiſe, of courſe and as neceſſary, a ſpirit and activity amongſt thoſe who come to the ſame market. That peculiar turn of character in the American, before deſcribed, that inquiſitiveneſs, which in buſineſs animates a ſpirit of inveſtigation to every extent, and in the moſt minute detail, wherever information is to be had, excites and enables them to conduct their dealings in trade in a different and more advantageous manner than is uſually practiſed by the European merchant. They acquire a knowledge not only of the markets of Europe, that is, of the wants

and

and ſupplies, how they correſpond, and of their relative values; but they never reſt till they are poſſeſſed of, in the moſt minute degree, a knowledge of every article of produce and manufacture which comes to thoſe markets; until they know the eſtabliſhments, the operations, and the prices of labour, and the profits made on each, as well, or even better than merchants of the country themſelves. This ſtate of information, joined to their commercial activity, leads them to the immediate ſources of all the ſupplies they want to purchaſe, without going through the channel of a foreign merchant or factor.

A little time before the breaking out of the troubles between England and America, ſeveral of the American merchants, eſpecially thoſe of Pennſylvania, ſending ſome of their own houſe to England (as I am informed) became their own factors, went immediately to the manufacturers in Birmingham, Wolverhampton, and Sheffield; to the woollen manufacturers in Yorkſhire and Lancaſhire; to thoſe of Liverpool; and to thoſe in the Weſt; and opened an

immediate traffick with them at the firſt hand. This ſame ſpirit of inveſtigation, and this ſame commercial activity will in the ſame manner actuate their dealings in every other country of Europe where they have a free market.

The effect ariſing from this may appear, at firſt view to be diſadvantageous to thoſe countries, and may indeed affect the courſes of the European Merchant individually, but it will become a general bleſſing to the community of every country at large, by being the means of raiſing a more general competition and of diffuſing a more equal or proportional ſhare of profit between all ranks and orders of the induſtrious. While trade is ſolely in the hands of the Merchant, He, not from the nature of the man, but from the nature of trade itſelf, bears hard on the purchaſer by his high rate of profit, and oppreſſes the manufacturer by the bare living ſhare of profit he allows him: the Merchant grows rich and magnificent, makes a great buſtle and a great figure: the eye of the world, attracted by the glare of theſe mercantile inſtances

ſtances of the advancing opulence in the country, has never accuſtomed itſelf to inquire, whether part of this princely magnificence is not derived from the depreſſion of induſtry, occaſioning, at the ſame time, a certain defalcation from the quantity of goods which would otherwiſe be produced? It can never be well with any country when the Merchants are Princes, or where the Prince is the Merchant. The more that the Merchant can make by high profits, the leſs in quantity (on every conſideration) will he carry to market. It will be his intereſt to keep the market ſcantily ſtocked; it will become his intereſt, by the collateral occaſion which this will give him, to repreſent the demand of the market as decreaſed, for thus he will keep down the manufacturer's profit. Whereas, on the contrary, in the moment that commerce becomes free and open; and, by the intermixture of this American ſpirit of trade, runs, with fair competition, in a broader channel: The merchant muſt make his way by being content with ſmall profits, and by doing a deal of buſineſs on

thoſe

thoſe ſmall profits. The conſumer and the manufacturer will come into more immediate contact, and be known to each other. The one will ſave the unreaſonable advances which he uſed to pay, and the other will obtain a more equal ſhare of the profits which ariſe on his labour. More work will be done; the profits of induſtry more equally diſtributed; the circulation of the vital nutritious juices will be diffuſed through the leſſer veſſels, and give univerſal life and health, and more perfect exuberance of growth to the whole community.

If theſe facts be true, and this repreſentation of effects be according to Nature; and if theſe operations take this courſe; it will be needleſs to point out to the ſhrewd ſpeculations of the merchants, what their conduct muſt neceſſarily be; but it will behove the Stateſmen in the ſeveral Governments of Europe to be aware, that, while this change is in operation, they do not ſuffer the merchant to perſuade them, that the general commerce is languiſhing and in decay, merely becauſe there is not the ſame parade of wealth, in ſuch dazzling inſtances,

inſtances, in the partial accumulated opulence of particulars. Let them look firſt to the market of ſupply in ſubſiſtence, and inquire, whether there is not plenty there? Next to the rude produce, which is the baſis of manufactures, and inquire, whether, while more and more induſtry is daily called forth, it is not employed and more adequately paid by a free and extended vent? And whether, while the number and ingenuity of manufacturers increaſes and advances, they do not all live more comfortably, ſo as to be able to maintain, and conſequently, in fact, to have, increaſing families; whether population does not progreſſively encreaſe, as it meets the ſources of induſtry in employment and pay. Let them, for the future, guard againſt the narrowed intereſt and excluſive temper of trade; while they encourage, *by an attractive principle of general communion*, the genuine ſpirit and life of commerce.

The Political Founders of the old ſyſtem in the old world, were totally ignorant of this principle of commerce: they ſeem not to have underſtood how this fruit-bearing tree

Tree was to be planted, or how to be cultivated. Inſtead of preparing, they wiſhed to impoveriſh the ſoil from whence it ſhould have drawn its nutrition; it was wiſdom with them to render their neighbours and cuſtomers poor. They cramped and mangled the very roots by the various ways in which population was obſtructed. Their impatient avarice ſapped the very bole of its vital fluid, ſo as to drain off that circulation, which ſhould give nutrition and encreaſe to it; by a wretched ſyſtem of taxation, they effectually prevented the ſtock of labour and profit from accumulating. They cut off the bearing branches (the huſbandmen and munufacturers) by dragging thoſe uſeful members to the barren labours of their ſtanding armies. And what little fruit, after all, the poor languid ſtarving Tree could produce, they gathered into monopolizing ſtores, leſt others ſhould ſhare the profit of it. But if the Stateſmen of the preſent more enlightened age will follow where experience, grounded in the actual ſtate of things, leads to truth and right, they will throw the activity

activity of mankind into its proper courſe of productive labour. When man hath the liberty of exerting his active powers of induſtry or ingenuity, as he can make them the moſt productive, and finds a free market for what he produces, and his ſhare of profit in proportion to his efficiency in creating it, then is the ground duly prepared for the encreaſing population, opulence, and ſtrength of the community; then will the Sovereigns of this old world find their ſoundeſt intereſt, and moſt efficient power, ariſing into amplitude and growth of ſtate, through means of their People's happineſs.

If the Sovereigns of Europe ſhould now at length find in the example of England, that the ſyſtem of eſtabliſhing colonies in diſtant regions and various climates, in order to create a monopoly of the peculiar product of the labour of the people whom they ſend thither, *is at an end*; and would turn the ſame attention, with the ſame zeal, to *colonizing at home*; that is, ſhould, like the Police of China, give ſource and exertion to their own internal

powers of production, ſhould cultivate their waſte lands, and improve their agriculture, and in its due turn, give every encouragement to manufacture; if they would aboliſh all thoſe uſeleſs bonds of ſlavery, which operate in corporations and corporation-laws; which fix down the activity of the human being, as it were a plant, to a local vegetable life, where its real powers are fettered and locked up, which repell all equality and competition, which obſtruct or pervert the very ſpirit of communion, and render thoſe, who ſhould live under it, aliens to each other: As all thoſe wretched remnants of barbariſm ſhall be removed, the productive powers of the community will create thoſe ſurpluſes which will *become the ſource*, and in the due courſe of nature, *open* in their turn *the channels of commerce*.

If the European Stateſmen, from experience of what has paſt, and been the effect of the ſyſtem of Europe; from intuitive experience of the progreſſive State of America; ſhould ſee the ſelf-obſtruction which ariſes from attempts to force an *excluſive*

cluſive commerce; ſhould ſee, in the examples of Spain and England, the diſappointed ends of attempts to eſtabliſh a *monopoly of navigation by the force of laws*, inſtead of creating or maintaining it by the ſpirit of an active commerce; ſhould ſee, that all the meaſures of *prohibitions*, by which the ſeveral States of Europe labour to repreſs the reſt, do but depreſs themſelves; They may at length come to a temper in thinking, at leaſt, if they cannot yet bring themſelves ſo to act, that to give freedom, ſcope, and activity to commerce, is the true ſyſtem for every country, which in its nature and operations is actually commercial.

All this, I know, will be called ſpeculation; and it is indeed, at preſent, but mere theory; yet having, by a ſeries of experience, in repeated inſtances, and in ſome of great import, ſeen, that *propoſitions which have been contemned and rejected in one country*, have, in their due ſeaſon, become *operative wiſdom in another*, I will (hoping that I do not preſume too much) proceed in this ſpeculation.

I will ſuppoſe, that the Stateſmen of the old world, checked at leaſt in their career of war; entertaining ſome doubts, or heſitation at leaſt, on the principles and maxims of their old ſyſtem; perceiving that the œconomical activity in Europe is on the turn to take a new courſe; feeling, in fact, the force and expanding operations of an active commerce; finding themſelves under the neceſſity of making ſome reform at leaſt, *begin themſelves to ſpeculate*, how, amidſt a number of Powers of trade, ſhifting their ſcale, an even balance may be formed, and ſecured in eſtabliſhment; how, amidſt a number of fluctuating intereſts, *buoyant on the turn of this great tide in the affairs of man*, an equal level may be obtained and maintained. If this ſhould lead them to review their old ſyſtem, and they ſhould perceive how it is of itſelf prepared for change, perhaps they may find that Commerce, which might have riſen by a competition in an active induſtry, a retentive frugality, and exertions of ingenuity, hath long been an excluſive ſcrambling rivalſhip; that

that * Commerce, inſtead of being (as in it's true nature it is) an equal, equable, univerſal operation of communion, which concenters the enjoyments of all regions and climates, and conſociates men of all nations, in a one mutual communion of all the bleſſings of Providence: when actuated as it hath been, by a repellant ſelfiſh principle, hath operated in Europe under the old ſyſtem, as the golden apple of Diſcord, and been to the ſeveral neighbour nations an occaſion of jealouſies of each others powers of enjoyment; alternate depreſſions of each others intereſts; and a never-ceaſing ſource of wars for many of the latter ages of the world: perhaps they may alſo then ſee that treaties of peace by which theſe have been terminated, are but truces; and that guarantees are but ſo many entangling preparations for future wars.

While they cannot but ſee things to have been ſo, on one hand, they will, I ſhould

* Quid quod omnibus interſe populis commercium dedit? Ingens Naturæ beneficium, ſi illud in injuriam ſuam non vertat hominum furor. Sencæ Nat. Queſt. Lib. 5 and 18.

ſhould however hope, have ſatisfaction in perceiving, that the manners of mankind, ſoftened and ſmoothed by degrees, have at length become more humanized; their ſociety and police more civilized; that the world at large hath been riſing nearer and nearer, every day, to a meridian which hath enlarged its views, which hath enlightened, and infuſed a more generous and liberal ſpirit into it: that although many of the old, oppreſſive, depreſſing forms and inſtitutions of Government, as they reſpect the cultivators of the earth, the manufacturer, the internal market, the merchant and external commerce, have not yet been actually aboliſhed; yet that practice, in the adminiſtration of thoſe governments, hath by various accommodations, various facilities, abrogated their worſt and moſt miſchievous operations; that the activity of man finds every day more and more, a freer courſe; that it finds itſelf encouraged, where it is in a ſituation ſo to do, to engage in the culture (if I may ſo expreſs myſelf) of the fruitfulneſs of the ſeas; that artificers and manufacturers begin to feel motives

which

which not only prompt their induſtry, but encourage their ingenuity; that there are a thouſands ways and channels (which though Pride will not open, Prudence will connive at) through which the intercourſe of markets finds every year a more free and unreſtrained vent; and that the active attraction and free ſpirit of commerce is, like the ſpirit of life, diffuſing itſelf through the whole maſs of Europe. They will find that, in fact, there is an end to all their *monopolizing ſyſtems*; that there is an abſolute impracticability, and total inefficiency in every line and effort of their *repulſive meaſures*. Experience of paſt effects will, in the courſe of this review, mark to them, that any one of thoſe Powers of Europe, who would aim to deal with the reſt of mankind with an unequal balance; who would endeavour to pile up the flow of their commerce in a channel above the level of the circumfluent commerce; will only find in the end, that they have raiſed amongſt their neighbour nations, a ſpirit of jealouſy, a revulſion, and a temper of univerſal rivalſhip, that ſhall conſpire to wreſt

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that falſe balance out of their hands, and to depreſs them down again, to a level with the reſt of the world. No other effect ever did or could derive from the European ſyſtem of commercial policy; theſe are the univerſal laws of nature, analogous in the moral, to thoſe which operate in the natural world. The cities of Italy, thoſe of the Low Countries, the States of Portugal, Holland, England, have all in their ſeaſon, and for their period, as commercial powers, ariſen above the common level of the reſt of the world; but over-preſſing with a weight which was felt as unequal, by thoſe placed below them; they have each, in its turn, found, even in the moment of their higheſt elevations a general riſing all around them, and themſelves ſinking to the common level.

If the Stateſmen of Europe ſhould, at length, begin to liſten to theſe experiences, and to reaſon on theſe principles, they, reaſoning, not like philoſophers on abſtract theory, but like politicians on the actual ſtate of things, and wrought thus to a temper of treating, and acting towards things

things *as they really are*; they muſt ſee how much it is the intereſt of All, to liberate each other from the *Reſtraints*, *Prohibitions* and *Excluſions*, by which they have reciprocally aimed to repreſs, and keep back that induſtrious activity, or at leaſt the effect of it, which ſhould otherwiſe have given ſource, in each reſpectively, to the common benefit and intereſt of All: They will ſee * "that the moſt advantageous "way which a landed nation" [prepared at the foundation as in this paper deſcribed] "can take, to encourage and multiply "Artificers, Manufacturers, and Merchants "of their own, is to grant the moſt perfect "freedom to the Artificers, Manufacturers, "and Merchants of every other Nation:" That the *Repulſive Syſtem*, and *Excluſive Navigation*, on the contrary, lowers the value of their own internal ſurpluſes, by raiſing the prices of all things which muſt be bought with them: And gives alſo to the Artificers, Manufacturers, and Merchants,

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* Dr. Adam Smith.

a monopoly againſt their own land-workers: Seing this, they will encourage Population, firſt internally, by preparing the ground for the roots, which is the natural and moſt efficacious means, as hath been ſeen in America; next by an univerſal Naturalization and Liberty of Conſcience. Should the Sovereigns of Europe at length ſee this truth manifeſted by experience, which the politicks of Stateſmen, and the myſteries of Tradeſmen, have ſo long hid from their eyes; that *a general and univerſal freedom of Commerce,* under the preſent conſpiring ſtate of the men and things of the commercial world, can operate only to promote in the people of each Nation, the neceſſity of an active induſtry, œconomy, ſobriety, experimental ingenuity, and a temper of equal juſtice, coinciding with the general communion of Commerce; and that theſe virtues while they render each particular national community productive, populous, opulent and ſtrong, do unite the intereſt of the Sovereign and the happineſs of the People, in the power of the State: Elevated as their ſituation is, and above all local, partial

tial views, they muſt ſee, that, if Nature has ſo formed Man, if policy has ſo framed Society, that each labouring in his deſtined and defined line of labour, produces a ſurplus of ſupply, it is the law of Nature and of Nations, it is of perfect juſtice as well as policy, that men and nations ſhould be free, reciprocally to interchange, and reſpectively as their wants mark the courſe, theſe ſurpluſes: that this *Communion of Nations* with each other, by which they aid and profit each themſelves, each other and all, is a right which may be enjoyed and exerciſed in its true and genuine ſpirit, and to its utmoſt extent, except in time of war, but even to great degree in time of war, without interfering in the political and civil power of the world; and that (if ſo) it ought to be thus enjoyed and exerciſed to the benefit and intereſt of each, and to the common good of all.

To thoſe who *ſee things as they are*, and *reaſon upon them as being what they are*, the ſpirit of thoſe *excluſive laws of navigation* which obſtruct an equal ſyſtem of univerſal communion in commerce, will appear as

the ſpirit of piracy; will appear in the extreme execution of them at the breaking out of hoſtilities, and oftentimes even in declared war, the ſame in the thing and fact as the robberies of thoſe States which the Powers of Europe have decidedly called Piratical: they will ſee that the COMMON OCEAN, incapable of being defined, incapable of a ſpecial continued occupancy, incapable of receiving excluſively the labour of any individual perſon or State mixed with it, is *incapable of becoming an object of property:* that however the Authority of an uſurped power of religion, however the Force of Empire, may attempt to give imaginary boundaries to the open, unbounded, undefined parts of this COMMON OCEAN, drawn by thoſe who were as ignorant of Aſtronomy and Geography, as they were of the laws of Nature, as ignorant of Heaven as of Earth, boundaries which common juſtice never can fix, nor which common ſenſe ever can find; it *can never become an object of dominion*; and that, therefore, the OCEAN ſhould in policy, as it is in fact, remain common and free

Pervium cunctis iter.

If

If the Sovereigns of Europe ſhould in this view of things conceive that the Commercial Syſtem of Europe is changing in fact, and in wiſdom and policy ſhould be changed; that the great Commerce of North America, emancipated from its provincial ſtate, not only coincides with, but is a concurring cauſe of, this change; that *the preſent combination of theſe events form a criſis*, which Providence, as it were, with a more than ordinary interpoſition hath prepared: and that Heaven itſelf ſeems to call upon them, to whom it hath committed the intereſt and happineſs of mankind, to co-operate with its gracious Providence: if liſtening to the voice of reaſon, who brings experience in her hand, they ſhould be convinced that of all the fruitleſs follies, which rivalſhip of ambition, or the reſtleſs reckleſs activity of politics hath ever drawn them into, there is nothing ſo abſurd as warring againſt each other about an object which, as it is ſeparated from Europe, will have nothing to do with its embroils, and will not belong excluſively to any of them. If liſtening to this voice, which

as

as that of an Angel, announcing peace and good-will to mankind, ſummons them to leave off the endleſs uſeleſs operations of war; to conſider the preſent criſis as an object of Council and not of War; and, therefore, to meet in communications and intercourſe of their reaſoning powers: ſurely theſe Sovereigns, who hold themſelves to be the Vicegerents of Heaven's power on earth, will act with this its manifeſted ſpirit and will.

The maritime powers of Europe, let them continue the war to what length of time they may, muſt (before peace, reſpecting that continent, reſpecting America, and the mixed intereſts of Europe and America, can be even treated of) muſt convene by their Conſuls, Commiſſioners, or other Miniſters, in order to conſider the ſeveral points on which the war broke out, the points in claim and in actual conteſt, the points on which they may ſafely ſuſpend hoſtilities, the points which muſt form the baſis of treaty, and which will enter into the future ſyſtem, the point on which peace by that ſyſtem may not only be made but

eſtabliſhed

eſtabliſhed amongſt the nations of the Atlantic ocean. Will not then reaſon and benevolence, in which (in this peculiar criſis) true policy and their right and beſt intereſt is included, ſuggeſt to their hearts, and actuate their Councils to convene a Congreſs, *before they are engaged in further hoſtilities*, before the devaſtation of war extends ruin and miſery yet further. Some ſuch meaſure, derived from the ſame feelings and reaſonings, actuated by the ſame motives, and pointing to the ſame views, as led the the ſeveral great Trading Bodies of Europe to *convene in a* CONGRESS, which gave riſe to the Hanſeatic League, is neither contrary to, nor out of the courſe of public buſineſs; but is, on the other hand, what the nature of the preſent criſis in a more than ordinary neceſſity requires. In this model there is example in fact, precedents in wiſdom and policy, applicable in the ſame manner to almoſt the ſame caſe as then exiſted. If the Stateſman, who on ſuch occaſions are to adviſe their Sovereigns, ſhould think that this example does not come up to the preſent caſe, or that the

mechanic

mechanic commercial reaſoning of ſuch homely parties can never be a model to the ſublime of politics; this paper (juſt obſerving in the paſſing, that thoſe who think ſo, know nothing of the wiſdom of that League) would moſt humbly recommend it to theſe Stateſmen, taking up the ſubject in an enlarged, liberal, philoſophic view, to conſider diſpaſſionately, and weigh thoroughly, *whether ſome* GENERAL COUNCIL, on the model of that concerted between the great Henry of France and Elizabeth of England, two as noble ſpirits and as wiſe politicians as the world hath ſince ſeen, *ſhould not now be propoſed.* This Memoire does not mean a General Council, erected into the ſame eſtabliſhment (although on the ſame baſe) as *their deſigns went to,* which was to the forming a Council of Adminiſtration, for regulating and conducting *a general political ſyſtem* of all Europe. The general Council here ſuggeſted, is ſimply and definedly *a Council of Commerce,* for all Europe and North America (abſolutely excluſive of all and every point of politics) formed by the ſeveral Sovereigns ſending their

Commiſſioners or Miniſters to convene, as a Chamber or Board, repreſenting the ſeveral commercial intereſts of each State; and, on a general liberal plan and ſyſtem of commerce, the conjunct and conſociated common intereſt of All. As ſuch it ſhould remain a ſtanding perpetual Council of deliberation and advice, and A SEAT OF JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION common to all. "*Continuellement aſſemble en corps de "Senat pour deliberer ſur les affaires ſurvenantes, s'occuper à diſcuter les differens "interêts, pacifier les querelles, eclaircir & "vuider tous les affaires---pour aſſurer mutuellement la liberté du commerce.*" Alſo as a GREAT AND GENERAL COURT OF ADMIRALTY, to take cognizance of ſuch matters of commerce in litigation, as, according to its eſtabliſhment, ſhall come duly before it: and of all offences which ſhall be committed againſt thoſe general and common laws of trade, which ſhall have been, with ratification of the Sovereign Powers, eſtabliſhed by it.

Such a Council might not only prevent a moſt dreadful general war, which ſeems to

be coming on in Europe; but, if it ſhould be ſo happy as to agree on ſuch reglements as would eſtabliſh peace at preſent, might, for ever after be the means to prevent all future occaſions of war, ariſing from commercial quarrels. Or, if the rage of war did force itſelf upon the world, it would then be a Seat of common juſtice, open to all nations, for the relief of the peaceable, induſtrious, and innocent, who ſhould be accidentally or iniquitouſly injured by any of the warring parties: a ſeat of ſuch juſtice as does not exiſt, and cannot be expected, in any private national Court of Admiralty, in the preſent ſtate of nations. Whatever is the fate of every other part of this propoſition, the preſent entangled, confounded, vague ſtate of the marine law of nations, ſeems to be ſuch, as creates a neceſſity, which muſt draw this part into eſtabliſhment. At preſent, all principle, rule, and law, ſeems to be as much loſt and gone, as if the nations were fallen back to the old ſtate of piracy, under their old barbariſm. Europe cannot, even in war, go on under the preſent abrogation of all treaties, and all the laws of nations.

If

If the ſtate of things, if the combination of events are, in fact, ſuch as mark the neceſſity of ſome ſuch General Council: If the minds and tempers of Sovereigns, whoſe hearts are in the hands of Providence, be in ſuch frame as the impreſſion of theſe things ſeems naturally to make: And if under this view of things, and in this ſpirit of wiſdom, they ſhould ſend their Commiſſioners or Miniſters to convene in ſuch a General Council, with powers and inſtructions to form ſome general laws and eſtabliſhment on the ground of UNIVERSAL COMMERCE: the cardinal points which will moſt likely come under deliberation will be: 1ſt. How far, in right, and how far in policy, it may be beſt for All, to eſtabliſh, on mutual agreement, the MARE LIBERUM: and how far each individual nation, (providing for the ſecurity of that peculiar property and dominion which they have, occupy, and duly hold, in local defined bays and harbours, &c. encloſed within the boundaries and coaſts of their landed dominions) may accede to this eſtabliſhment, as a law of nations.

2dly. How far the univerſal JUS NAVIGANDI may be, or can be eſtabliſhed, conſiſtent with the preſent national claims of the ſeveral Maritime States; or how thoſe may be accommodated, mutually and reciprocally, ſo as to lead to ſuch eſtabliſhment hereafter. On this ground they will naturally meet each other, in forming at leaſt ſome general ſyſtem of regulations and laws, common to all, under which this univerſal commerce may act and be protected: So that the exerciſe of this right may extend whereſoever the ocean flows, and be as free as the air which wafts it over that ocean in all directions.

3dly. This will lead to deliberation on the LIBERTAS UNIVERSALIS COMMERCIORUM, FREE PORTS, and FREE MARKETS, in open equal traffick.

As a concomitant meaſure, or at leaſt (theſe being ſettled) as a neceſſary conſequence of them, the Members of this Council muſt enter into convention, afterwards to be ratified by the reſpective Sovereigns, of reciprocal ſtipulations and terms, as to Port Duties and Market Tolls.

The

The adjuſtment of this latter point will derive, and naturally take its form from the mode of the eſtabliſhment of the three former matters. They will, however, be beſt and moſt wiſely ſettled, by thoſe States who are in circumſtances which enable them, and who are under ſuch a ſpirit of wiſdom as will direct them, to aboliſh, by degrees, all Port Duties; and to raiſe their revenue by Exciſe, Tailles, and other internal ſources of finance, as are collected not from the ſeller, where every impoſition lays with redoubled load of tax on the Subject, and comes with defalcated and defective revenue to the State, but immediately on the conſumer; where the load muſt be proportioned to the abilities of his bearing it, and whence, whatever is collected, comes in full to the State. " Add to this, that it would be a means of making that country which adopted this meaſure, A FREE PORT; a circumſtance very deſireable to every well-wiſher of his country. See then whether it does not deſerve the care of every worthy patriot

patriot to make ſuch a ſcheme (if it can be) feaſible and practicable."*

If the State of Europe, by its circumſtances and modes of buſineſs, by the ſpirit of its politicks, by the temper and underſtanding of its Sovereigns, is not yet prepared and ripe for any ſuch general ſyſtem and eſtabliſhment of UNIVERSAL COMMERCE, under the MARE LIBERUM, the JUS NAVIGANDI, and the LIBERTAS UNIVERSALIS COMMERCIORUM: The buſineſs of this Council will turn on the making of ſuch alterations, accommodations, and reform in the old ſyſtem, as may ſuit and follow the changes of it. They will, therefore, deliberate firſt, on the nature and extent of the conditional grants of privileges of trade, which, under the air of protection, they ſhall offer to America: Under this idea they muſt ſettle with Her and amongſt each other quite new arrangements of tariffs. As they ſhall advance in multiplication of difficulties, and by degrees to a conviction of the impracticability of this line of meaſures; they

* Sir Mat. Decker.

will,

will, by degrees, raiſe even in their own ideas, this nation to be States admitted, and next go upon the experiment of treaties of commerce with her, on the old European ſyſtem. Experience will teach them, that this will create a rivalſhip, which will evade and break all treaties of commerce. Here then will they come round in a circle to the point of neceſſity, as herein before ſtated, which, firſt or laſt, muſt force into eſtabliſhment, the meaſure deſcribed in this paper. † *Voila tout ce qu' on peut raiſonablement exiger, Il n' eſt au pouvoir de l' humanité, que de preparer et agir. Le Succes eſt l' Ouvrage d' une main plus puiſſante.*

† Duc de Sulli, Liv. 30.

FINIS.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Paper ſtates and explains the Syſtem of the New World in America; the natural Liberty of the Individual ſettled there; the Frame into which the Communities of individuals (prior to all conſideration of Political Society) naturally form themſelves. By theſe principles it leads to the diſcuſſion of the nature of their States and their political Freedom; of the nature of the Confederation and General Government; and from hence the Spirit and Temper of Polity, which may hereafter form *the Reaſon of State*, or Syſtem of Adminiſtration in the affairs of that Empire, are ſketched out.

As the ſeveral matters which range under this general Subject are intimately interwoven with the *Eſſence*, and deeply intereſt the *Exiſtence* of this Sovereign Empire, they ought to be apparent to, and to be underſtood by, every Citizen of America, who has a ſhare in the buſineſs of his Country: this Memorial, therefore, is addreſſed to the SOVEREIGNS OF AMERICA. It is, moreover, publiſhed to the Citizens at large, as "*What concerns* "*All, ſhould be conſidered of by All.*"

A practical knowledge of the matters contained in this Paper, eſpecially of thoſe points which reſpect the *new Syſtem* of a New World; a knowledge of the *Conſtitution* of the General Government, and of the ground and move-

movements of the American *Adminiſtration*, is indiſpenſably neceſſary to every Stateſman in Europe, who may have Connections and Habits of buſineſs with this New Empire: this Paper is therefore publiſhed to Europe at large.

It is not written for the Reading, nor calculated to the Reaſoning of Britiſh Politicians: it is drawn by a Scale below ſuch Sublimity: its home-ſpun reaſonings will be unintelligible to Britiſh Stateſmen. A few Copies, however, are reſerved for the inferior claſs of Readers and Reaſoners who will underſtand the Memorialiſt.

If He could flatter himſelf that the Stateſmen and Politicians of Great-Britain would deſcend from

their Superior Regions, and condeſcend to caſt an Eye, or rather a Thought, on ſuch a trifling Paper of ſuch an unexperienced Theoriſt as the Memorialiſt; He has only to caution them againſt *patching* their politics with the only *remnant-rag* of their folly that ſticks to their backs, viz. *an Idea that an* UNION *with America, or ſome part of it,* is *practicable and politic.* This propoſition, *framed into a meaſure,* is the only one left to compleat, beyond redemption, the Ruin of this Country.

A ME-

A

MEMORIAL

ADDRESSED TO THE

SOVEREIGNS OF AMERICA.

HAVING preſumed to addreſs to the Sovereigns of Europe a Memorial, ſtating,

1ſt, The Combination of Events, as they ſtood in fact and operation between the Old and New Worlds, between Europe and America:

2dly, Marking the train of conſequences which muſt have been the Effect of this combination, and which is in part ariſen into Event by the Eſtabliſhment of the Sovereignty of the American States:

3dly,

3dly, and laſtly, Suggeſting what that ſpirit of Policy, and marking what that line of Conduct ought to be, with which *the advancing State* of things ſhould be met:

Permit me now to addreſs this Memorial to You SOVEREIGNS OF AMERICA. I ſhall not addreſs you with the Court-titles of Gothic Europe, nor with thoſe of ſervile Aſia. I will neither addreſs your Sublimity or Majeſty, your Grace or Holineſs, your Eminence or Highmightineſs, your Excellence or Honours. What are Titles, where Things themſelves are known and underſtood? What Title did the Republick of Rome take? The State was known to be Sovereign, and the Citizens to be Free. What could add to this Glory? * Therefore, UNITED STATES

* If it were neceſſary for the American States to take a Stage-name in the Diplomatic Drama of Politics; to aſſume for their Title of Addreſs ſome *noun ſubſtantive* expreſſive of the Spirit and Virtue which is ſuppoſed peculiarly to reſide in them;

STATES AND CITIZENS OF AMERICA, I addreſs You, as You are; I do it under every ſenſe and ſentiment of Reverence to Your SOVEREIGN STATION; and under a conſcious ſenſe of the diſtance of my own private one. And yet, from the relation which I have formerly borne to the States, both when † I ſerved them under their command,

them; I would addreſs myſelf to THEIR FREEDOMS. This is the peculiar gift of Heaven; this is the Spirit of their Cauſe and Eſtabliſhment. Be this their Holineſs, their Grace, their Excellence, their Honour: be this their Polity, and they will eſtabliſh the Majeſty of the American Union, and will riſe into high and mighty States.

† The firſt Public Commiſſion that this Memorialiſt held, the firſt of his honours, an honour which he eſteems as highly as any that he hath ever ſince enjoyed, was that of being Commiſſioner ſent from the Province, now the State Maſſachuſett's-Bay, to negotiate an Union of the Forces of Pennſylvania, New-Jerſey, and New-York, with the Forces of New-England, in an expedition againſt Crown-Point, in which negotiation he ſucceeded, and which expedition gave the firſt turn to the fate of the War of 1755. He began his courſe by learning to ſerve them, and he afterwards ſo commanded as to obtain the approbation of thoſe where he governed, and the honourable teſtimony they bore him. Afterwards, in the private ſtation to which he was conſigned in his

command, and after when I commanded —I addreſs You in the conſciouſneſs of ſomething above ‡ a Subject, in that of a Citizen. I addreſs you not only as SOVEREIGN States, eſtabliſhed and acknowledged; I congratulate You as FREE States, as founded on and built up in the Principles of Political Freedom. I congratulate Human Nature that it hath pleaſed God to eſtabliſh an Aſylum to which Men of all Nations who wiſh for

his native land, he invariably endeavoured to ſerve the Cauſe of Freedom and Peace; he had the means and took the occaſion to become an *efficient ſpring*, though not permitted to be *the Inſtrument* of Peace. Born in that part of his Nation which inhabits Great-Britain, but having been employed as a Political agent only within that part which poſſeſſes America, he eſteems himſelf, politically ſpeaking, a *Citizen* of America, though by birth a *Subject* of Great-Britain.

‡ I derive my diſtinction from the Romans: I adopt the precedent from the Commiſſioners Plenipotentiary of America. The Romans ſay, *Non in regno Populum Rom. ſed in Libertate eſſe:* and the Commiſſioners, with the moſt exact preciſion, mark, in the proviſional Treaty with Great-Britain, the characteriſtic of thoſe who are *in regno*, and of thoſe who are *in libertate*, by this expreſſion, the "*Subjects* of the one, and the *Citizens* of the other."

and

and deſerve Freedom may fly, and under which they may find Refuge. In the contemplation of this wiſh, and in the view of this general happineſs to mankind, depending on your eſtabliſhment, I preſume to addreſs this Memorial to You.

Accept with gracious interpretation and condeſcenſion my Apology. I feel that it would be an impertinent aſſumption, nay, that it would be ridiculous, were I to preſume to adviſe the States in the courſe and practice of Government. The free Citizens of America, whoſe practice from their youth is in the buſineſs of their Townſhip, of their County, of their Country; whoſe diſcipline and whole education, whoſe character, is in conſtant training to the knowledge and exerciſe of Government and its powers; will in their reaſoning prove more reaſonable, in their actions more efficient, and in their political conduct wiſer and more *aù fait* in the affairs of their *new world* than the firſt Stateſmen of Europe, who have acted on

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the ſtage of the *old one*. A free Citizen, participant of the Sovereignty of his State, who learns and is practiſed in rotation of offices, both to ſerve and to command, feels by habit in his mind, as he doth in his animal frame, almoſt mechanically, and without adverting to the reaſon at the time, the meaſure and the movement which every ſurrounding circumſtance calls for. The character, thus acquired, creates in the *reaſoning* Agent the ſelf-conſcious feel of its natural energy: as the habits of exerciſe in the body give to the *moving* Agent the animal feel of ſelf-poiſe. In taking, however, a new ſtation, in ſtanding amidſt new and unexperienced relations, the Agent feels the center of his animal poiſe removed; he feels ſomewhat that did not make part of his former ſelf-conſciouſneſs: he is, for a time, as it were, on a conſtrained Balance of Mind and Body. In this ſituation he finds and feels, that not old habits, but new exertions of diſcernment; a ſpirit of

inveſtiga-

inveſtigation and induction; an analyſing Spirit applied to new matter, not a compounding judgment on the old, muſt come forth and act. Under circumſtances important, in ſituations pregnant like theſe, the American Politician and Stateſman, whoſe training and practice is in a courſe of experiments, as in the new philoſophy, will not refuſe to hear any advice which is ſuggeſted, will not reject the offers of any ſervice, though he neither calls for the one nor wants the other. Making his experiences in every line of reaſoning, in that of others as well as his own, he will frame and found his own reſolutions on his own reaſons ſo informed.

The Scite and Circumſtances into which your Affairs were brought in the year 1776: and your ſelf-conſciouſneſs prompting you to find that you were not *in fact* what political eſtabliſhments had made you *by law*, a Branch of a family, ſubject to and dependent on another Branch of the ſame family as your Sovereigns; but that

you were what nature had wrought you up to, equal brothers of the ſame family: feeling yourſelves driven by neceſſity to a ſeparation " from the political Bands " which had hitherto connected you, You " found it neceſſary to aſſume, amongſt " the Powers of the earth, that Separate " and Equal Station to which the laws of " Nature and of Nature's God intitled " you: and therefore Declared, that the " United Colonies of Britons in America, " were and of right ought to be, FREE " and INDEPENDENT STATES."

This, like all other revolutions of Nations, hath been conteſted by arms. *Sweet Love changing its nature turns to bittereſt hate*; ſevere therefore and deſtructive has been the war of Brethren. The appeal was to Heaven: and the ſucceſs of your Cauſe is a proof in fact, that the vigour of natural principles muſt always in the end prove impregnable and irreſiſtible to mere force, however ſupported: That a Syſtem of meaſures founded in the nature of things,

things, and actuated by the direct rule of Common Senſe, muſt always riſe ſuperior to and overtop all eſtabliſhments founded in the devices of Men, and built up in all the Art and Myſtery of Politics: That a Conſcious Spirit, which ſuch circumſtances inſpire, will bear up againſt and finally bear down all artificial courage of Military Power, howſoever trained and ſtrengthened: That a Cauſe ſo founded, ſo animated, ſo conducted, will predominate and be eſtabliſhed. It hath been the decided will of God, that this your Cauſe ſhould prevail, and that your Independence and Sovereignty ſhould be acknowledged by the Sovereigns of the earth, now your equals.

As I recommended in my Memorial to the Sovereigns of Europe; ſo in this now addreſſed to the * MAJESTY OF THE PEOPLE

* This expreſſion, which the Memorialiſt will have frequent occaſion to repeat, is juſtified in the precedent of the forms uſed in expreſſing the Sovereignty of the Roman People, as uſed in ſome of their Treaties;

People of America, the whole argument recommends to their conſideration, 1. What the preciſe change of their Syſtem is. 2. What may be the general conſequences of ſuch change. 3. With what ſpirit, and by what conduct *the advancing ſtate of things* ſhould be met. The inveſtigation of theſe points can be purſued only by that ſelf-collected frame of mind within yourſelves, combined with a plain and ſober love of Truth, which will conſider well *of what ſpirit you are*; which will ſtate Perſons and Things *as they really exiſt*; and will, in the right Spirit of Sovereigns of a State founded in Political Freedom, treat them *as being what they are*.

The moment that you became, *de jure* by the Law of Nations, acknowledged independent and Sovereign, equal to other Sovereigns

Treaties; Majeſtatem Populi Rom. comitèr conſervent: and as a common form in their acts of Government; Fit Senatûs Conſultum, ut Imperium Populi Rom. Majeſtaſq; conſervaretur. *Cicer. pro Rabirio.*

Sovereigns of the earth, and having no reference but to yourſelves, was the moment of your greateſt difficulty and danger. I have, with an anxious zeal for the liberties of mankind, conſidered theſe difficulties and this danger; and it will be one purpoſe of this Memorial, to ſtate them, firſt as they reſpect the exiſtence, next as they reſpect the Conſtitution of this Sovereign.

This moment will ſhow whether the States and Citizens of America are capable of eſtabliſhing and of permanently maintaining this independent Sovereignty; are capable of actuating in truth and fact this ſpirit of political Freedom, firſt, as it derives from yourſelves; ſecondly, as it may depend upon your Leaders; and laſtly, as this ſpirit and this eſtabliſhment may be affected by thoſe Foreign Powers with whom as neighbours, with whom as Guarantees, with whom as friends by alliances, this Exiſtence ſtands connected.

It hath pleaſed God to eſtabliſh your

Sovereignty

Sovereignty by the force of arms; it hath pleaſed him to fix the rights of your equal ſtation with the Sovereigns of the earth in the rights of Treaty, and that your Empire ſhould be acknowledged by the Law of Nations: He hath, however, ſo wrought, according to the uſual diſpenſations of his providence, that you muſt work out your own ſalvation. If you are not in your *Principles*, in your *Spirit*, in the *State of your Confederation*, in the *Conſtitution* of your General Government, in the *Powers of your Union*, as yet ripe for Political Freedom and formed for Empire; * your Liberty is immature, your Sovereignty is premature. The firſt danger is, if you miſtake your Spirit, if you neglect to build on your real foundation, as it is laid in Nature, or if you raiſe a ſuperſtructure not conſonant to it. Examine, therefore,

* Neque ambigitur quin Brutus, qui tantum gloriæ, Superbo exacto Rege, meruit; peſſimo publico id facturus fuerit, ſi libertatis immaturæ cupidine priorum Regum alicui Regnum extorſiſſet. *Liv.*

therefore, of what Spirit you are: Search thoroughly and ſurvey the Ground that is the foundation of your General Conſtitution, and, attending ſoberly in reaſon, and not in the partial unequal movements of paſſion, diſtinguiſh the operations of Polity which ariſe by the energy of natural principles, from thoſe which are forced on by art, and conſtrained by violence againſt Nature. Follow thoſe principles in the order of your Superſtructure: and when the great Machine of Government is formed, actuate it by the Spirit of Freedom as it lies in Truth. Feel, as one ſoul, the concentered Vigour of Sovereign *Imperium:* feel the ſelf-poize of your natural Station, the Center and balance of your Force; the courſe and range of your organiſed energy; the Spring of Activity in your political perſon: and you will find it no difficult matter to ſtand firm on the Baſis of your Sovereignty: You will experience but little obſtruction, at leaſt ſuch as is of little conſequence to the exerciſe

and adminiſtration of your *Imperium*. You will feel the meanwhile the expanding powers of your Liberties and Freedom come forward, by a natural vitality, into Fruit, the fruits of Peace, Plenty, and the ſolid permanent happineſs of Being.

Theſe are not words of courſe, this is not mere harangue: thoſe who knew the States and Citizens of America, as it was my duty to do, and as I did, ſaw, not from an *ex poſt facto* view of the Effect as it is now decided, but in the operation of the Cauſes working to this certain effect, and pronounced, not in vague and general terms of harangue, but in defined ſpecific declarations of leading Facts, that Ye were ripe for Political Freedom; that the foundation of a great Empire was laid; and that it would ariſe into Eſtabliſhment. And thus this your Memorialiſt, in his Memorial addreſſed to the Sovereigns of Europe, ſtated you.

That you have united, at the riſque of every

every thing which forms the happineſs and exiſtence of Man, to oppoſe the Meaſures and *Provincial* Government of your late Sovereign : that you have perſevered in your reſiſtance to the emancipating of Yourſelves from all regal Power : that you have taken the Government into your own hands:* that you have conducted it with ſuch ſpirit through ſo many difficulties and dangers in war, and in treaties, is no unequivocal demonſtration to all mankind, that the ſpirit of freedom and a right ſenſe of Government dwells in the Citizens of America. If, when theſe Citizens come to the forming of the political eſtabliſhment of their General Government, an uniform Idea of Self-eſtimation (each aiming to be that, and no more, than he really is, and all treating

* Non inopiæ Ærarii, non vis hoſtium, non adverſa res ingentem eorum animum ſubegit, quin, quod virtute ceperant, ſimul cum animo retinerent. Atq; ea magis fortibus conciliis quam bonis prœliis patrata ſunt. *Salluſtius* ſic ſcribit de ortu et progreſſu Rom. Imperii.

each other invariably as what he is in his individuality) actuates the People; if a temper that equalizes every participant of the Community in the rank and order in which he is a Member of the State, actuates the body of the People; if a jealous guard over the rights, property, lives, and security of the People, interwoven with a conscious Reverence for the Honour of Government; if a heartfelt duty, active in the support of Government, combined with a prompt and active spirit of resistance to every thing which would obstruct or abate its operations, forms the character of the Americans: if this spirit animating the body of the people, actuates their leaders; the State, bottomed on the real and actual foundation as it lies in the Community, will be built up in its Constitution conformable to it;* and the Power of the Govern-

* The reasons why the American Empire will not be liable to the division of interests, and to the

Government and the Spirit of the People will conſpire in the Adminiſtration of it. This power and Spirit ſo combined pervades the whole in its reaſoning part, and gives ſpring to the whole in every act of Government. It equally exiſts in the paſſive virtue of Obedience, as in the active duty of Command. Liberty will feel the conſcious ſenſe of confidence and uniform obedience; and Government, governing by the lead of the People, will command irreſiſtibly. There can be no contention for, nor acquiſition of, unequal Domination in Men; but the Conteſt will be (ſo it was at Rome in her happier days) who ſhall beſt promote the intereſt and honour of the State in ſerving, or beſt exert it in governing. On the contrary, where there is a reluctance in the Individual, ariſing partly from a want of entire aſſurance in himſelf and his political ſituation, and partly from a jealouſy

the ruinous conteſts which took place in Rome, will be given by the Memorialiſt in that part which conſiders the Conſtitution.

of

of thoſe in other ſituations, to eſtabliſh ſuch power as is neceſſary to render the State AN AGENT; where there is a reſiſtance to the command of all above, and a deſire of Domination over all below; where there is an impatience oppoſing itſelf reciprocally to all command on one hand, and to all check and reſtraint of power on the other; where that temper operates in the People, or actuates their Leaders, and is miſtaken for the Spirit of Liberty: either the State is not founded on the true baſis of the People; or is not built up in its conſtitution according to the Frame of the Community; or there does not reſide the true and genuine ſpirit of Liberty in the Community, operating to Political freedom in the State. Let the Citizens of America therefore enter ſeriouſly and in earneſt with themſelves into the enquiry: Whether they find within their Community a Spirit of Attraction operating, as an internal principle, to Union; or whether their Community

munity has been compreſſed into its preſent Confederation only by an external cauſe, and will remain ſo compreſſed ſo long as, and only ſo long as, that power ſhall act upon them from without. Thoſe who, at the time of the commencement of theſe events, knew the character of that People, and watched their conduct, knew that the vigour of natural Principles drew them to reſiſt the unnatural violence of *Provincial* Government. This Vigour of natural Principles gave Unity, Wiſdom, and perſevering firmneſs to their Councils; and the ardour of the Spirit of Liberty gave ſtrength to their own arms, and rendered them impregnable to thoſe of the Enemy. If, examining the temper and ſpirit of the people, and the Conduct of their Leaders, they find that the ſame principles continue now to operate from an internal attraction when all external compreſſive cauſes are removed; if the ſame ſpirit of liberty continues to act, in a perfect reciprocity of thoſe rights, which each

each individual, according to the frame of the community, is entitled to; if the collective Spirit of these Sources has a direct tendency to form into political freedom, to which all are ready to sacrifice; the Citizens of America may be confident *that their Liberty is Mature.* They may and will establish the Sovereignty of their States, and the United General Government as Independent and in Freedom.

The train of events, extraordinary as they have been, hath established their *Imperium*, and by the Law of Nations they are acknowledged to be, *de jure* as well as *de facto*, SOVEREIGNS. A second line of consideration, therefore, parallel to the former, leads to the enquiry, What the genuine *Spirit of Sovereignty* is, and whether it exists as a *political Principle* in the Community, is combined with the Constitution as a Vital principle of the State, and actuates the administration of the getal Government.

If the spirit of Liberty, in a people founded

founded as a ſtate in political freedom, and built up in a Superſtructure conſonant to the actual frame of the community, inſpires that people with a ſenſe of its own ſecurity in that foundation, and therefore animates it with that confidence which ſuch principles give : that People will feel, that, as They at large are repreſented by their elected Delegates, ſo is the Majeſty of the People repreſented by, and reſides in, the Sovereignty, which they have eſtabliſhed. They will repoſe themſelves in this as their Palladium ; and will, as Participants and Conſtituents of the State, truſt and give full Confidence to the Supreme Officer or Officers, whether permanent or changing in rotation, who adminiſters and executes that Office, whoſe Honour, Dignity, Power, and * Amplitude,

* This word AMPLITUDO, as uſed by the Romans, is included under the general Idea MAJESTAS, and means pretty nearly the ſame, or ſomething ſimilar to our Engliſh word *Prerogative*. As that word has been applied to a Monarchy, I have

 adopted

tude, is the Repreſentative of this Majeſty.

The Word *Sovereign* is a Gothic Feudal term; it preciſely meant the Supreme *Command paramount* over all other ſubordinate Commands, where thoſe commands, however, were ſovereign within their own juriſdiction. It is *Super-regnum inter regna minora.* I hope, whereever in this Memorial I uſe this Term, to be underſtood according to the ſtrict definition of the word *Majeſtas*, uſed by the Roman State, as the collective idea under which are included and reſide *the Jura, Imperia, Faſces, Dignitas, Poteſtas et Amplitudo Populi Americani.* Under this

adopted in this Tract the term which the Romans uſed under a Popular Government, meaning a *Fulneſs of Power*, which ſhould not, in all caſes, be defined; and is beſt held without definition, ſo as to exert itſelf in all caſes *pro Salute Populi*; but which is yet effectually limited where that people, thinking it hath unneceſſarily adopted, or in its exertions exceeded *that Lex Suprema*, interpoſes to check it. Majeſtas eſt Amplitudo & Dignitas Civitatis. *Cic. de Orat.* 113. Majeſtatem minuit qui Amplitudinem Civitatis detrimento afficit. *Cic. ad Heren.*

Idea,

Idea, and under this definition of Sovereignty, the Memorial proceeds to enquire whether there doth actually exiſt in America *that Majeſty of the People* under which, and within which, the rights and liberties, the power and prerogative, the honour and dignity of the States and Citizens are collectively concentered: and *whether this is actually ſo eſtabliſhed as to be the efficient Government.*

If a right Senſe of this Spirit of Sovereignty, thus eſtabliſhed in, and combined with, political freedom, pervades the feeling of the people; is conſcious that the collected information and reaſon of the whole concenters in this Majeſty; that the combined Force of the whole ſprings from this Center of Power and activity; this ſenſe will dwell in the opinion of the people with all that eſteem for the wiſdom of the *Imperium*, that reſpect to its Authority, that veneration of its Honour and Dignity, and that *Conſenſus obedientium* under its power, which

alone forms the principle of the Sovereignty (I had rather ſay) the Majeſty of the People as free Citizens. On this principle they will eſtabliſh this Majeſty with ſuch powers as are neceſſary to give it efficiency; for not to feel that they may venture to give full ſcope and efficient powers to it, is to doubt of the foundation of their own Freedom, is to withhold the real eſtabliſhment, while they ſet up an Idol with which to Mock themſelves. They will rather give it ſuch AMPLITUDE of power as may enable it, in all caſes, not defined and not definable, to ſecure and promote the *Salus Populi.*

Sovereigns as they are, and are declared to be by the Sovereigns of the Earth their Equals, if they do not form one general Efficient *Imperium* as the Political Center of the Union, as Repreſentative of the Majeſty of the whole Sovereign Confederation; as the executive ſpring of ſelf-motion and Force in the State; the Liberty, Independence, and Sovereignty of the ſeveral

ſeveral States, will prove exactly ſuch as T. Q. Flaminius, by order of the Roman Senate, affected to reſtore and to give to the States of Greece; or ſuch as the policy of the ſame Senate directed Paulus Æmilius to form the four Free and Independent Democracies of Macedonia upon —ſo independent as to have no alliance of Polity, or intercommunion of Trade with each other. This Memorial will not enter into the detail of this adduced example: for if the reading of the Hiſtory is not ſufficient to awaken a jealous ſenſe of this Situation, Reaſon will but more tire and deaden that Senſe. All, therefore, that will be here done is to recommend to the ſerious contemplation of the American States, to compare in thoſe examples the meaſures taken, and the events which ſucceeded, to their own ſituation, in an anxious looking to future events. This is ſaid in exceſs of caution: but One may hope that it is totally unneceſſary. If the Memorialiſt is not miſtaken in his idea

idea of the free People of America, He ſhould rather think they will cloath it with ſuch Honours and Dignity, that its Authority rather than its power may be ſeen, and be willingly ſubmitted to : but they will yet arm it with ſuch Powers as ſhall maintain the *Imperium*, and bear down all unconſtitutional recoil againſt it.

If this genuine Spirit pervades the character of the People, thoſe amongſt them, whom the Senſe and Opinion of the People deſtine to be Rulers, will be trained to the character of Sovereigns, and, when actually cloathed with the Majeſty of the People, will feel a conſciouſneſs, not of the pride of their own perſon, but of the Honour and Dignity of the People. Under this conſcious ſenſe they will, as the Conſuls of Rome did, act the Character of Sovereigns in a higher tone of dignity than Kings and Princes, whoſe conſcious feel of Majeſty is centered in their own narrow Selves. They will act with

with leſs pride, but more commanding aſcendency ; with leſs violence, but with greater effect ; with leſs Craft, but with more Wiſdom ; with Truth, Honour, and the real Spirit of Majeſty.

If this Spirit of Sovereignty does not reſide in the People ; if, through defect of this, the State is not formed to act as a Sovereign with all the Majeſty of the People ; this New Sovereign may, like a Meteor in its rapid trajectory, blaze in the Heavens, and aſtoniſh the Earth for a time, but will not be found in any uniform revolving orbit, nor become eſtabliſhed as a permanent Syſtem.

Oſtendent terris hunc tantum, Fata neq; ultra
Eſſe ſinent.

On the contrary, if they find within the Community the Self-ſpring of Government ; if they are conſcious that they have formed their *Imperium* in this Spirit, and not in the Spirit of Domination ; if they have eſtabliſhed their Government, as in political Freedom, ſo in Amplitude

of

of Majeſty, the Spirit of Heaven will anſwer their call, and inſpire their cauſe. "*I have become*," it ſaith, "*a glorious* "*diadem to the remnant of the People:* "1. *Ariſe, aſcend thy high ſeat:* 2. "*Cloath thyſelf with thy power:* 3. *Lift up on high thy Standard to the Nations.*" Eſtabliſh your Sovereign Government; Cloath it with the Majeſty of the People; and claim, inſiſt on, and maintain, in all its amplitude, the honour and dignity of this Sovereign Majeſty with all the Sovereigns of the Earth.

Having examined the nature of the *Spirit of Liberty*, the nature of the *Spirit of Sovereignty*, as forming, when combined in the natural principles of a People, the *Eſſence* of efficient Government founded in freedom,—this Memorial proceeds to the examination of thoſe relative matters which may, both internally and externally, affect the *Exiſtence* of that Free and Independent Sovereign.

A newly-eſtabliſhed State viewed under

under the circumſtances of its Birth, and with reference to thoſe relations amongſt which it muſt, in its firſt years, take its courſe, will be ſeen to ſtand in the ſame predicament at its firſt eſtabliſhment, as Man, the Individual, doth at his birth. Cicero, in treating of the beſt poſſible Republic, takes his ground of reaſoning from this reference: "*Homo non ut a Matre, ſed a Novercâ Naturâ editus eſt in vitam; corpore nudo & fragili & infirmo; animo autem anxio ad moleſtias, humili ad timores, molli ad labores, prono ad libidines, in quo tamen ineſt tanquam obrutus quidem divinus ignis ingenii & mentis.*"

It hath not, however, been ſo with the American States at this their coming forth. They have been in their infancy nurtured and protected by nature as by a mother, between whom and her children there has been the pureſt reciprocation of maternal affection and filial Piety, until evil councils broke the tie. Under this relation

theſe States aroſe to manhood: all, therefore, which Cicero refers to in his alluſion to the birth or firſt eſtabliſhment of a Republic, *de corpore nudo & fragili & infirmo*; *de animo anxio ad moleſtias, humili ad timores, molli ad labores*; all that he refers to as to the wants, defects, infirmities, and weakneſſes, of Infancy, doth not apply, either in mind or body, to thoſe States adult in manhood, before they took their ſtation of Independence. * "*They "are already hardened into Republics.*" They are come forth in full maturity of age. It is however at an age *prona ad libidines.*

As man in his youth lives under a perpetual conflict of his paſſions; ſo have all States, ſo will the States of America, at their firſt emancipation to liberty, feel, in the effervelcent temper of their youth, the ſame tumults in the boſom of the State:

* This is an expreſſion of the Earl of Clarendon in the MS. draught of his plan for ſending Commiſſioners to America in 1664.

they

* they cannot therefore too carefully watch over their hearts, that, while they think that they are cultivating the ſacred Love of Liberty, they may not become inflamed with the libidinous paſſion of Licence. They muſt in their zeal for the intereſt of the ſtate, in their exertions of their conſtitutional ſhare of power in the government, in their natural and not inuſeful differings of opinion upon men and meaſures, keep a conſtant check over the ardour of young impreſſions; otherwiſe that which ſhould be the natural (I had almoſt ſaid the mechanical)motion of their agency, will break out in the conflicts of

* What is here ſaid of the *Libidines adoleſcentis Civitatis* is not the refinement of Theory and inexperience, but the repeated leſſon of the greateſt and moſt experienced Statesmen: and in the very manner in which I have here given the caution againſt thoſe political *libidines*, Cicero gives the like caution in his ſixth book de Repub. Graves enim dominæ cogitationum libidines, infinita quædam cogant atq; imperant, quæ quia expleri atq; ſatiari nullo modo poſſunt, ad omne facinus impellunt eos qui illecebris ſuis incenduntur.

parties and factions, perpetually tending to eſtabliſh the intereſts and domination of men. *Et hæc quaſi materies omnium malorum ſemper fuere.* The lead of America will, by combinations of military ſubordination, tend in a direct line to the deſpotiſm of One; or, by civil intrigues, and the corruption of the purſe, converge in oblique lines to the Tyranny of the Few; or, by the energy of enterprizing ambition, be wrought into a diſcordant and repulſive ſtate, which will break all order and diſſolve all ſyſtem. Had this been the caſe in Rome, *Diſſipatæ* (ſaith Livy) *Res, nondum adultæ, diſcordiâ forent, quas fovit tranquilla moderatio imperii, eoque nutriendo perduxit, ut bonam frugem libertatis, maturis jam viribus, ferre poſſent.* May the ſame ſenſe of Liberty and Government in the People, the ſame *tranquilla moderatio imperii* in their Leaders, warm and animate the Spirit of America! And may that ſpirit, ardent yet moderated; that Government, though active,

active, yet not violent; bring forth the fruits of Empire founded in political Freedom, for the protection, peace, and happineſs, of mankind, in one portion at leaſt of this Earth.

This Memorial hath ſtated and explained the operation of the internal ſelf-working Principle, as the firſt cauſe of union in Community, which by one common energy of univerſal attraction creates (as in nature by natural principles) one common center, to which the ſeveral energies of each and all tend and conſpire. If human nature, and a community of human beings, could be found perfect as to reaſon, truth, and wiſdom; not to be perverted by paſſions; not to be ſeduced and corrupted by vicious affections; this attractive principle would alone be efficient to the End of union in Government. This is not the caſe; God hath therefore been pleaſed to ſuperadd another cauſe, ariſing from the very defects and depravations of man, which operates from with-

without. This compreſſes men againſt their repulſive fears and jealouſies of each other, againſt the repellant temper which frauds, diſſentions, violence, and attempts at domination, raiſe amongſt them by a ſtill ſtronger compulſive power into cloſer contact, and mutual alliance for common defence. It is happy for a State, eſpecially for a newly-eſtabliſhed State, when this external cauſe continues to act; and acts to one and the ſame end in aid of the internal principle.

It is, on the other hand, an unfortunate and dangerous criſis to young and riſing States, if the external compreſſive cauſe, which hath been found uſeful to a State, by rendering internal peace and union neceſſary, and hath been in that line of efficiency applied as part of the political Syſtem, ceaſes to act. While the Perſians meditated or made invaſions upon Greece, the ſeveral ſtates adhered zealouſly and moſt carefully to their confederacy; but in leſs than fifty years after

after Xerxes was defeated and driven from Greece, the repellant ſpirit began to ſhow itſelf in the ſtrife of unequal intereſt, and in attempts of ſome to create a Domination over the reſt; and iſſued in the Peloponneſſian war, to the total devaſtation of the Country, and almoſt to the deſtruction of the States. In like manner, while neighbour nations of Italy, hoſtile to Rome, acted upon the State of that City as this compreſſive cauſe from without, the wiſdom of its Stateſmen applied the effect to the reſtraining and bounding the repellant principle of Diſcord within. Theſe were at length removed either by conqueſt or alliances; yet Carthage, the rival of Rome, and upon the Sea the aſcendent power, reſtrained the Conduct of the Citizens of Rome to the neceſſity of keeping the ſame guard upon the ſpirit of Diſſention. *Sed quum Carthago, æmula Imperii Romani, ab ſtirpe interiit, Cuncta maria Terræq; patebant; Fortuna ſævire & miſcere omnia cæpit.*

Qui

Qui labores, pericula, dubias atq; aſperas res facilè toleraverant, Iis otium divitiæ, optandæ aliis, oneri miſericæq; fuere. Igitur primò pecuniæ, dein imperii cupido crevit, &c. In like manner, now that the *Imperium* of Great Britain reſides no longer within the Empire of the United States; now that the Britiſh Nation is removed from within the Dominion of thoſe States; now that the States dwell almoſt alone on their great Continent, and are abſolutely the Aſcendent Power there; if the true *ſpirit of liberty*, as above deſcribed, and the *genuine ſpirit of Government*, does not act by the internal attractive principle of Union ſtrongly and permanently in proportion as the external compreſſing cauſe of confederation is removed, the Americans will experience the ſame Fate and Fortune, and be driven, by the ſame miſeries, to the ſame ruinous diſtreſs which the States of Greece and the city of Rome had wretched experience of.

It is, however, peculiarly happy for

the American States, whatever be the force and temper of this internal principle with them ; that an external compreſſive cauſe is not wholly taken off. When they conſider the difficulties which they will have to render *the line of Frontiers* between their Empire and the Britiſh Provinces in America a *line of Peace* ; when they experience in fact and practice the difficulties of preſerving it as ſuch ; when they ſpeculate upon the almoſt numberleſs, and, at preſent, nameleſs, ſources of diſpute and contention, which may break out between them and Spain ; when, in the cool hours of unimpaſſioned reflection, they begin to be apprized of the danger of their very * Alliances ; they will ſee that this compreſſive cauſe does not ceaſe to act. Every friend to their peace, liberty, and happineſs, muſt hope that they will ſo ſee it, that their Stateſ-

* Guaranties have a right to interpoſe, and may aſſume a right of becoming *Arbitrers*.

men may attend to improve the effects of its operation, and to profit of this bitter but saving providence. If they improve the feelings which the States will from time to time experience of danger to the interest of the General *Imperium* from external force, so as to work the impression, which fears of that external power creates, to a permanent habit of union and confederation, as a principle of their Empire, never to be remitted, diminished, or departed from for a moment, * these States will derive internal Union and Stability to their Government from those very dangers, or the fears of those dangers, which threaten it. If, on the other

* This was the invariable Policy of the Patricians and Senate in the early days of Rome. Similem annum priori Consules habent. Seditiosa initia bello deinde externo tranquilla. Ea res maturam jam seditionem ac propè erumpentem repressit. *Liv.* l. ii. § 63 & 64. Bono fuisse Romanis adventum eorum constabat; orientemq; jam seditionem inter Patres & Plebem metu tam propinqui belli compressam. Lib. vii. § 12.

hand, it ſhould unfortunately become the ſyſtem of their Politics, that, divided into parties, each aſcendant party of the time ſhould, by reference to, and the interpoſition of, thoſe external powers, aim to ſtrengthen *their own* intereſt, the ſtate may retain its ſovereign Station; but their own Rulers will ſcarcely be the Sovereigns: the Reaſon of State will be no longer its own reaſon; and its Liberty will, even while it ſeems to act in all its forms, be bound down by the predeſtination of External Powers. The ſeveral States, or ſeveral Parties in the States, inſtead of coaleſcing by one uniform general attraction to the common center, will become like the blood of life in a fever, clotted into partial diſeaſed coagulations of faction, having the moſt violent repulſion amongſt each other. This Memorial will not enter into this topic further than to recommend to the Citizens of America, not only to read, but to compare, with what may be their own even-

tual caſe, the effect of this ſort of reference, as it ſhewed itſelf amongſt the States of Italy during the time that Rome and Carthage were Rival Powers in that country. * *Unus velut morbus invaſerat omnes Italiæ Civitates, ut Plebs ab Optimatibus diſſentirent: Senatus Romanis faveat; Plebs ad Pænos rem traherent.* † The ſame malady ſeized the States of Greece. Factious within themſelves, the Minor Party had reference to foreign intereſt, and ſought to ſtrengthen each their own Faction by the aid of the enemies of their Government. They applied firſt to the Perſian Grand Monarch; in the next period, to Athens and Lacedæmon alternately, as the Ariſtocratic or Democratic Faction prevailed. This alſo well deſerves the conſideration of the United States of America, as to the point of reference which future parties amongſt them may make to foreign aid, to French or Britiſh Power.

* Livy. † Thucydides.

This

This Memorial might here enlarge on this topic of foreign politics, as they may train between Great Britain and the United States: it would be a needleſs preſumption, ſo far as reſpects the American Stateſman; and would not, I am ſure, as nothing of the kind ever yet has been, be of any uſe to Britiſh Stateſmen. It might enlarge on this ſubject as it reſpects the States with reference to their intercourſe with Spain; their Alliance with France; their Treaties with the United Belgic States and * other powers: but, perhaps, the Stateſmen of America, under the impreſſions and predilections of their newly-formed friendſhips, may think the eventual State of things, which it would deſcribe, to be viſionary and *en l'air*, and may hold the conſiderations thereupon, which it would recommend, as the mere

* The Memorial will mention in another place Indian Politics, as they reſpect this new Empire of America.

theoretic

theoretic eſſays of an unemployed and inexperienced man. This Memorial, therefore, will only repeat what the Memorial addreſſed to the Sovereigns of Europe ſtated as a maxim (rather a fundamental Principle) of American Politics: "That "as Nature hath ſeparated her from Eu- "rope, and hath eſtabliſhed her alone "(as a Sovereign) on a great Continent, "far removed from the Old world and all "its embroiled intereſts, * that it is con- "trary to the nature of her exiſtence, and "conſequently to her intereſt, that ſhe "ſhould have any connexions of Politics "with Europe other than merely com- "mercial; that ſhe ſhould be a FREE "PORT to all Europe at large, and in "reciprocity claim a FREE MARKET in "Europe; and that ſhe ſhould have no "commercial treaties with any European "Power partial to ſuch power and ex- "cluſive to others; but that ſhe ſhould

* Common Senſe.

"give

" give and enjoy a free Navigation and " an open trade with all."

Fundamental Principles ſimilar to theſe, although they may not have been able to prevent her from forming ſome connexions, ſome alliances, may yet, if a ſyſtem of Politics is founded on them as decided maxims of State, and invariably and uniformly purſued, preſerve her from the entanglements in which ſhe might be otherwiſe involved, and guard her againſt the dangers which the conſequences of thoſe connexions may lead to. Although a bold and daring, or a lucky ſtroke, may ſucceed for the hour or the ſeaſon, or in the tranſient ſmall affairs of Individuals; yet *nothing but Syſtem*, as it ariſes from the nature of the State, *will be efficient* to any permanent purpoſe; to an Empire nothing but ſyſtem, even in the line of defence, will guard a State againſt, and repel the attacks of Fortune. The moſt daring Fortitude, the moſt active courage, unleſs it hath ſuch foundation, would become

come folly and madneſs, and only ruin a State with more *eclat*. There is ſomething in Fortune which mixes itſelf in all Human affairs, and which perplexes and obſtructs, if it does not actually command, Events. Fortune, although generally conſidered as an operation of chance, is not, and cannot be, any thing elſe but the ordinary courſe of natural and human events. It is a Combination ariſing from remote or hidden cauſes, from circumſtances unobſerved, from influences not underſtood, from innumerable and imperceptible *minutiæ*, which yet, combined, are cauſes equal to every effect that is produced. Theſe remote, hidden, and imperceptible cauſes are not, and indeed ſcarce ever can be, conſidered by men: the effects, therefore, are in Event before the cauſes are ſeen, if they are ever ſeen afterward. Fortune, therefore, (as men uſually expreſs themſelves,) mixes itſelf in all human affairs, and generally commands. The acuteſt foreſight, the

firmeſt

firmeſt ſpirit, if acting and exerted *only on the occaſion*, can neither guard againſt nor reſiſt its Force.

Quid Quiſq; vitet, nunquam Homini ſatis
Cautum eſt *in horas*.

No temporary reaſoning, no temporizing State-craft, applied only to *occaſions*, can either be aware of or prevent her ſtrokes; nor will the moſt inexhauſtible fund of reſource, or the moſt habile application of remedy, relieve men under the maladies which ſhe brings upon their affairs. Syſtem alone, as it founds itſelf on the nature of things, and the nature of man, eſtabliſhed in fact and truth, and uniformly purſued with ſpirit, can be adequate to the adminiſtration of the affairs of a State. A Syſtem of this ſpirit and temper in the Rulers will, if there is a ſpirit in the People correſpondent to it, command Fortune. In this ſpirit of ſyſtem, and not in a ſuppoſed predeſtined Fate, did the Fortune of the Roman Republic conſiſt.

Hinc omne Principium, huc refer Exitum.

A line of conduct drawn amidſt the nature of things, and according to the nature of man as connected with them, is, in Politics, what the moral habit of harmonized temper, actuated by uniform Reaſon, is in man. A Syſtem, even the wiſeſt, may, as all human affairs are liable to the effects of external things, be ſtruck by the attacks of Fortune, may not be invulnerable to her ſtrokes; but if it be ſuch as this Memorial ſtates that it ſhould be, Ἔργον εἰς ἀιεί, and not *in horas*, they will ſtrike it fearleſs; they will ſtrike a breaſt thoroughly prepared to bear up againſt, and finally to repel its effect. Such a Syſtem, in the great and arduous affairs of men, flows through the ever-varying ſeries of Events, like a large and copious river through the varying regions of the earth. Its Greatneſs is not affected by ſmall accidents or incidental chances. The floods of the mountains may pour down in torrents that ſhall diſturb and foul its waters for a ſeaſon, but it holds its courſe, and as it flows, purging

ing off all noxious mixture, clears again to the original purity of its element: the ſcorching drought of heaven may draw off much of its waters, but the abundance of its original and internal ſource is ſuperior to ſuch external diminution; and it ſtill holds on its courſe, in one uniform tenor, equal to all the purpoſes for which it flows:—it may be precipitated into rapidity in one part of its ſtream, it may be checked in another; it may be drawn winding through this vale, or forced to make a circuit round that mountain; but its general Courſe flows uniform to itſelf, conform to the nature of the country it paſſes through, and maintains that general direction which its Iſſue bears to its Source. The concluſion upon the whole is, that, if the New Sovereign Republic of America hath the right conſcious ſenſe of *natural liberty and political Freedom*; if it is animated with, and actuated by, *the genuine Spirit of efficient Sovereignty*; if it hath had the wiſdom *to harmonize itſelf within* according to

this Spirit, and to form *a grounded and permanent Syſtem towards All without*; ſecured againſt itſelf, armed againſt the Strokes of fortune, and guarded againſt the malignity of Man; it is eſtabliſhed as Nature herſelf, and will Command: one may not only wiſh, but as of Nature herſelf one may pronounce

ESTO PERPETUA.

The Memorial having ſtated what ſeemed neceſſary to the conſideration of the Eſſence, Exiſtence, Efficiency, and aſſured Permanency of a Republic newly emerging to Independence and eſtabliſhed in Sovereignty; it now proceeds to conſider matters of Conſtitution. The Memorialiſt feels that it would be impertinence towards an American Citizen, and knows that it would be uſeleſs and ineffectual to an European Stateſman, to enter into the diſcuſſion of the particular Conſtitution of each individual State. The Citizens perfectly know their own Buſineſs; and all the force of reaſon and experience combined will never make the

the perverted head of an European, eſpecially a Britiſh Stateſman, comprehend the Spirit of them. Theſe conſtitutions are what have wrought the States to Freedom, Independence, and Sovereignty. They are the beſt that can be at preſent; and ſhould there be any thing which in future times and circumſtances might require a change, there is in theſe States, as in the animal œconomy, *a healing principle* which will work * itſelf right.

This Memorial will therefore proceed to conſider, in general, as they lie in Nature, *the grounds* on which the General Confederation and Sovereignty ſtand; and *the principles* by which its Structure and Conſtitution muſt take its Form, be that Form whatſoever it may hereafter be.

The principles by which the Syſtem of America is animated and actuated, ariſe from the actual and unconſtrained nature

* The operation of this is actually provided for in ſeveral of the Conſtitutions of the States, by the eſtabliſhment of a Cenſus, and other means.

of

of Things, and from the unperverted, unoppreſſed nature of Man. They are not ſuch Principles as the Political Syſtem of this or that State permits to be called Liberty. The Liberty of the People of America is not merely that ſhare of Power, which an Ariſtocracy permits the People to amuſe themſelves with, and which they are taught to call Liberty. It is not that Domination with which the People govern in a Democracy, and therefore call Liberty. It is not that ſhare of Domination which a political Monarch throws into the hands of the People, in order to ally their power to his Force, by which to govern the Ariſtocracy. The genuine Liberty on which America is founded is totally and intirely a New Syſtem of Things and Men, which treats all as what they actually are, eſteeming nothing the true End and perfect Good of Policy, but that Effect which produces, as equality of Rights, ſo equal Liberty, univerſal Peace, and unobſtructed intercommunion of happineſs in Human Society.

Every

Every Inhabitant of America is, *de facto* as well as *de jure*, equal, in his eſſential inſeparable rights of the individual, to any other Individual ; is, in theſe rights, independent of any power that any other can aſſume over him, over his labour or his property: This is a Principle in act and deed, and not a mere ſpeculative Theorem. He is his own maſter both in his reaſoning and acting; ſo far as reſpects the individual, he is at perfect liberty to apply his power as he likes, to labour in any line, and to poſſeſs and uſe his property as his own. His property is free from any tenure or condition that may clog, obſtruct, or divert the fruits of that labour which he hath mixt with it.

There are not in America any Baronial or Manerial Dominations of the leſſer but more cruel tyrants. There are not in this Land of Liberty any Feudal, any Perſonal ſervices, which may be claimed by a Landlord from the Landholder, whether Prince, Baron, Clergy, or Body Corporate: There are no Fee-farm Rents

or

or Tythes to be paid; there are no deſtinations, either of the Reſidence or Labour of the Landworker or Mechanic, which in the Old World are aſſumed as refinements of Polity: neither as a Labourer, nor as a Landworker, does the American ever find himſelf croſſed upon by any of thoſe ſelf-obſtructive Policies, which have been the bane to Induſtry, and blaſted the fruits of labour in Europe. He meets nothing which repreſſes him back, or excludes him from riſing to that natural importance in the Community, which his ingenuity in his manual labour, or his improvements in his landed Property, muſt of courſe, unobſtructed, give him. The power which derives from property in America ariſes in proportion to the activity which is mixt with it by the poſſeſſor; and in the hands of thoſe who do thus actuate it, it aſſumes its weight, and relative place, towards the common Center, ſo as to render this active Proprietor every day a more important Citizen.

There

There is another Right of the Individual, which the perplext and mixt policy of Europe has broken in upon, and which yet no civil Polity can have cognizance of; and ſeems to have, as no right, ſo no pretence to interfere in: that is, where government aſſumes a regulating direction over the natural affections of the Sexes. In America, Love and Liberty go hand in hand; and each individual forms thoſe connections which nature and the heart point out. Marriage there is a Civil Contract, which is contracted, remains obligatory, or is diſſoluble, juſt as any other Civil Contract is. This Memorialiſt knows of * no civil act of State in America which hath ordained any thing to the contrary. The Americans do not as is done in the Mother Country, Firſt ſtate in their Theology, that *Marriage is*

* The Memorial does not enter here into any of thoſe ideas which thoſe marriages that uſe the forms of the Church of England or of Rome may take up.

no Sacrament, and then continue it in their law and their Police, as *an Act of God*, which no Executive human Power can diſannul. Marriage in America is formed directly to anſwer the two great ends for which the two Sexes come together, Private perſonal happineſs, and the propagation of the Species; both which ends are really anſwered in the fulleſt and to the moſt perfect effect. Every Wife there is herſelf a fortune; and the Children are riches to the parents.

The Right of private conſcience in matters of Religion is one of thoſe rights which are eſſential to the individual, and which he cannot alienate or even abate. This is a matter of which Government can have no cognizance, in which it can have no right to interfere: and yet, in the Old World, *this internal* impreſſion of the mind of the *Individual*, as though it were *an overt of the Citizen*, hath been treated as an Object in which Government

vernment is ſuppoſed to be moſt deeply intereſted. On the contrary, the Syſtem of the New World conſiders Religion as an internal act of the Mind towards God, by which Man endeavours to raiſe up to himſelf the moſt perfect notion he can of the Supreme Being, and of his attributes, in order to form his Conduct in moral conformity thereto; alſo as an act of the mind, by which the internal Man addreſſes himſelf in prayer and praiſe to God, in that way which he thinks moſt ſuitable to the Divine Being, and the moſt efficacious to the obtaining of what he preſumes to aſk in prayer. This Right therefore exiſts in America, inviolate, and in perfect liberty.

Another and eſſential part of the independent political freedom which the American Syſtem enjoys is—that it is, as a State, in no wiſe under the Superintendency of any Eccleſiaſtical *Imperium* in any ſhape whatſoever; that it knows no ſuch Soleciſm as that of the ſame indivi-

dual Citizens being the component parts of two diſtinct communities formed under two *diſtinct imperia*.—There is no mixture of any ſuch materials at its foundation; there is no ſuch Frame in any part of its Structure.

The Inhabitants of the Old World, both thoſe who lived under the falſe Religion, as thoſe alſo who dwelt under the manifeſtation of the True, had univerſally their Civil Polity directed in its conſcience by the ſuperintendence and guidance of a Body of Men ſuppoſed to be endued with more than human wiſdom, and who ſeemed to have the power of reward and puniſhment beyond the extent of human power. With the Ancients, before the time of the Manifeſtation of the True Religion, Religion was neither more nor leſs than a State-Engine, framed and worked, under the direction of the Chief Magiſtrate, by the hands and management of the leading Stateſmen, to the purpoſes of the State.

It

It was a Creature of the State. The Chriſtian Religion, a Religion of Spirit and Truth, whoſe Kingdom was not of this world, whoſe end and object was in another and future State (for which this life is a preparatory training), was totally abſtracted from all Politics, from all Adminiſtration and Government of the things of this world; and had no other concern therein, but to render unto Cæſar thoſe things which are Cæſar's, and to be obedient to the higher Powers: yet ſo it hath happened (I ſuppoſe the divine Teachers of this religion found it neceſſary), that, when they eſtabliſhed their Syſtem, as an outward viſible form, they formed an intermediate temporal Community and *Imperium*, both eccleſiaſtical and civil, in and over the things and Perſons of this world: and, feeling themſelves as an independent diſtinct Body politic, aſſumed *either an aſcendant ſuperintendence over the Civil Community*, or put themſelves in the predicament

cament of having formed, on original compact, *an alliance between the Church and the State.* The State of Europe (it may be ſaid, of the whole Roman Empire) at the firſt origin of Civil Governments under the Conquerors of that Empire, was ſuch as naturally gave birth and ſcope to this Syſtem. The commanding paramount powers of the Great, and the ſeveral *imperia* of the leſſer Commanders, who had overran and held in Subjection all Europe, were merely Military. The idea of Government, other than that of military diſcipline within their Camps, Cantonments, and the Poſts of their reſpective armies, entered not into their Syſtem. Theſe People had no idea of civil government as neceſſary to be co-extenſive with the predominant military *Imperium.* They conſidered all civil polity as mere matter of œconomy in a family, clan, or horde; as mere ſubordinate arrangement of the community of any people or nation; which the body could beſt ſettle for itſelf,

and

and be beſt anſwerable for. Of what form this was, or how adminiſtered, was matter of indifference to theſe Commanders. This civil line and field, therefore, was opened to all Inſtitutors of Politics, who could acquire aſcendency ſufficient to eſtabliſh themſelves under the auſpices of the military.

At this period the Human Species in Europe, howſoever trained and diſciplined to, howſoever exerciſed and expert in war, could, as to political civilization, ſcarce be ſaid to have emerged out of their Savage State. The Miſſionaries of Rome were ſent out amongſt theſe, to teach them the arts of ſocial life, to civiliſe them, and to convert them to the Chriſtian Religion. Theſe Miſſionaries (I mean ſome of the firſt) had deſervedly great merit with them, and acquired thereby an almoſt abſolute aſcendency over them: they became their Farmers, Mechanics, Artiſts, their lawyers, their judges, their Lawgivers, their guides, and the directors of their opinions and conſciences. Whatever

Polities,

Polities, therefore, grew up amidſt theſe thus firſt civilized Europeans, were interwoven at the root, and grew up interbranching with eccleſiaſtical Government, ſo as not to be ſeparable from it. The lands and property of the eccleſiaſtical ſociety (however obtained) came forward into improvement and fixed property, co-eval (if not in a leading line) with the property of the Civil Body, and, as it were, allied and intermixed with it. In the European States, therefore, the Eccleſiaſtical Rights, Property, Polity, and *Imperium*, became, from the earlieſt periods of Civilization, an eſſential, inſeparable part of the Conſtitution. Whatever may be the abſtract truth in civil Polity, taken *à priori* in its original principles; whatever may be the opinion of men in theſe days; the fact and invariable precedent is, that in Europe the eccleſiaſtical *Imperium* or * Church is an indefeaſible part of the

* "The Clergy of England have a Zeal for the "Church of England; but they have a greater Zeal "for

the State. And every loyal ſubject of theſe States will be, at leaſt ought to be, a zealous maintainer of this United or allied eſtabliſhment of Church and State.

It is not ſo with the Americans, and the ſyſtem of America. They were not thus civilized by eccleſiaſtical Miſſionaries. No Church power was their foſter Parent. The Original Conſtituents of theſe States were in a perfect ſtate of Civilization, in perfect independence and freedom, at the eſtabliſhment of their Civil Polity. An eccleſiaſtical Body, as a ſeparate Community from the Civil Community, and yet formed of the ſame individuals, would have appeared to them as a Chimera. The Syſtem in which American Polity is built up ſtands independent, and is free from thoſe heterogeneous mix-

" for the Church of Chriſt: there are Few of them, " I hope, who ſcruple profeſſing a Wiſh, that the " pure banner of the Goſpel may, if need ſhall ſo " require, be diſplayed triumphant on the ruins of " every Church Eſtabliſhment in Chriſtendom." —A Letter from the Lord Biſhop of Landaff, to his Grace the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, p. 3.

tures, which always more or leſs * obſtructed each other, and which drew into crookedneſs and obliquities the free and natural Energy of Both. The Americans have no one Form of eccleſiaſtical ſyſtem, or Church eſtabliſhed as *the Religion of the State*; they have *no landed clergy*; no Church Revenue derived by a transfer of the ſlaviſh Tax of Tythes from the State to the Church: their lands were never *Agri Decumanni*. They do not apply Religion, as was the caſe in the falſe religion, as an engine of State; but conſidering it *as what it is*, they make the proper diſtinction which its divine Author made: they give unto God the things which are God's; and unto Cæſar [*i. e.* the Civil State] the things which are Cæſar's. In this they have no part to take, but to

* The purity of Religion equally ſuffered by this worldly alliance of the Daughter of God with the Child and Creature of Man; as Civil Government hath done by the Conſtraints with which this high-ſpirited Dame on earth hath bound the energy of its Freedom.

follow

follow God and Nature in the direct right line of Truth.

The Syſtem of the American Community lies in Nature: from natural cauſes there is now, has been, and moſt likely will continue to be, a general equality, not only in the Perſons, but in the power of the landed Property of the Inhabitants. This Baſis of the ſuperſtructure is uniform and level; the *Res Populi*, the *actuated Rights and Intereſts* of the People, is every where equally attended to, and is in all points coming forward (if I may ſo expreſs myſelf) in parallel lines into operation. This equal level of acting powers and actuated property, lying thus in Nature, becomes, by the vigour of natural principles, the Baſis of a Free Republic. This is the grand *Deſideratum* of all the ancient Legiſlators and Inſtitutors of Republics. They ſaw the neceſſity that there was of an exact conformity between the Conſtitution of the State, and the *Species of Individuals*, the *form of the community*, and *nature*

of the baſis on which ſuch State muſt be founded. No ſuch Baſis was there found in nature; they therefore tried a thouſand different projects to form ſuch in Art. They forced Nature. Not finding the natural ſituation of men to be what it was neceſſary to the Syſtem of their Polity it ſhould be, they endeavoured to make it what it never could be, but under force and violence done to nature. They deſtroyed or perverted all Perſonal Liberty, in order to force into eſtabliſhment Political Freedom. While Men were taught by pride, and by a proſpect of Domination over others, to call The State Free, they found themſelves cut off from, and from the uſe of, many of the eſſential inalienable rights of the Individual, which form his happineſs as well as freedom. So far from finding themſelves free, they felt themſelves mere machines. All this was done and ſuffered, to obtain (which yet they never could obtain) that natural equal level Baſis on which Ye, American

can Citizens, ſtand; on which Ye, United States of America, are built up, in a manner that combines the perfect poſſeſſion of the rights of the Individual, Perſonal liberty, and Political Freedom.

Here, UNITED STATES AND CITIZENS OF AMERICA! look back on the peculiar bleſſings, on the ſpecial favours, on the ſingular happineſs, in which Providence hath been pleaſed to eſtabliſh your Syſtem; to which he hath ſeemed to ſelect you, as a choſen people, in a New World, ſeparate and removed far from the regions and wretched Politics of the Old one. Conſider this well, not only in the conſcious feel of the happineſs which you yourſelves enjoy, and which it is your Duty to deliver unabated over to your Children; but in the ſincere ſenſe of gratitude which Heaven demands of you. Manifeſt this in the conduct and Adminiſtration of your Sovereign Powers, while you eſtabliſh, as conſtitutional maxims in practice, thoſe Truths which form

form the principles of your Syſtem.—*Serendi Sunt Mores.*—I do not here mean a new cultivation: for the Manners and Spirit of the Americans have been, uniformly, what juſt ſuch a ſtate, ſuch a Syſtem of Things would inſpire; and their political Character, juſt that habit of Conduct which is conform to it: a character, which looks to rights of perfect freedom as the firſt object and end of man as a Citizen; that eſtimates all men as equals; and is no reſpecter of perſons, but according to their place in thoſe orders and ſubordinations which the State gives, and which therefore reſpects the office, not the man: a character that knows how to eſtimate the Majeſty of the People, and the *Imperium* of the State; and honours and obeys it for real conſcience ſake: a character by which each individual conſiders himſelf as a * Participant with his fellow Citizens, and a Commu-

* Ad participandum alium ab alio, communicandumq; inter omnes. *Cicero* de Leg. Lib. i. § 11.

nicant

nicant in the Whole; and therefore feels, as a ſelf-conſcious feel, an unaffected, inartificial, natural Love for his Country, combined with a prompt and ardent zeal for its Service. It is this ſpirit and this Character, which hath wrought You up to the independent Free Sovereigns which you now are. When, therefore, this Memorial preſumes to advance this propoſition, *Serendi ſunt Mores*, it means that the ſame Culture of *Political Character* be regularly continued; that the ſame Senſe of Your Syſtem, the Same Spirit of Liberty, the ſame manners may remain unabated, unaltered, undepraved, to form and animate the ſame Character; for on Cuſtoms and manners, more than on Laws and Imperium, depends the fate, the fortune, and the exiſtence of a State. And may this, many ages yet to come, not only be ſaid of You, but be true, which Ennius ſaid of Rome:

* Moribus antiquis Res ſtat Romana, Viriſq;

* It is impoſſible that the import of the truth and wiſdom of this propoſition can be too ſtrongly impreſſed

That, thus founded in Nature, and thus built up in Truth, Your States ſhould ariſe to Independence and Sovereignty in the very ſpirit of Political Freedom; that, under a ſyſtem ſo entirely new upon

impreſſed on the mind of a free Citizen of America; and leſt the quotation of it above ſhould not make a ſufficient impreſſion, I cannot but here inſert—Cicero's Commentary on it.—Quem quidem Ille [Ennius] verſum, vel brevitate vel veritate, tanquam ex oraculo mihi quodam eſſe effatus videtur. Nam neq; Viri, niſi ita morata Civitas fuiſſet, neq; Mores, niſi hi Viri præfuiſſent, aut fundare, aut tam diù tenere potuiſſent tantam, & tam longè latèq imperantem Rempub. Itaq; ante noſtram memoriam, & mos ipſe patrius præſtantes Viros adhibebat, & veterem morem ac majorum inſtituta retinebant excellentes Viri. Noſtra verò ætas cum rempublicam ſicut picturam accipiſſet egregiam, ſed jam evaneſcentem vetuſtate, non modo eam coloribus iiſdem, quibus fuerat, renovare neglexit, ſed ne id quidèm curavit, ut formam ſaltem ejus, & extrema tanquam lineamenta ſervaret. Quid enim manet ex antiquis moribus, quibus ille dixit Rem ſtare Romanam? Quos ita oblivione obſoletos videmus, ut non modo non colantur, ſed etiam ignorantur. Num de Viris quid dicam? Mores enim ipſi interierunt Virorum penuriâ. Cujus tanti Mali non modo reddenda Ratio nobis, ſed etiam tanquam Reis capitis quodammodo dicenda cauſa eſt. Noſtris enim Vitiis, non caſu aliquo, Rempublicam verbis retinemus, reapſa vero jampridem amiſimus. *Ciceronis de Repub.* Lib. v. Fragm.

Earth,

Earth, your improvement ſhould continually ſo expand; that your population ſhould ſo increaſe and multiply; that a Civilizing activity, beyond what Europe could ever know, ſhould animate and actuate your progreſſion; that your commercial and Naval power ſhould be found active in almoſt every quarter of the Globe; that your Military power ſhould be equal to the defence, and your political wiſdom adequate to the eſtabliſhment of your Sovereignty, is and was but a natural Conſequence in the ordinary train of Cauſes and Effects. It was due and juſt to you thus to ſtate You to the Sovereigns of Europe; and there was no advice ſo good could be given to them, as *the Stating of this ſimple Fact*, ſo little underſtood in the Old World. The Memorial addreſſed to theſe Sovereigns ſtated it without reſerve or diſguiſe. This truth was at firſt treated as unintelligible ſpeculation. It was unfaſhionable; it was neglected where it was not rejected, but in general it was rejected as inadmiſſible: by degrees it entered into

 the

the reaſoning of many an individual; and when it was in various tranſlations expanded in Europe, it was found inſenſibly to have mixed itſelf with the ſentiments of many a Stateſman, and at length reached the ear and penetrated the heart of ſome Sovereigns---laſtly, thoſe of the Miniſters and Sovereign of Great-Britain. This truth, which had been for ſome years conſidered as a Propoſition not to be liſtened to, not to be ſuffered to be mentioned; for the enouncing of which (although * in the line of his duty) the Author was called, by the Wiſe Men of the Britiſh Cabinet, *a Wild Man*, unfit to be employed; yet this Truth became, in about a year and a half, demonſtration not to be reſiſted, and an univerſal idea of Europe. *Magna eſt vis veritatis, & prævaluit.* Great-Britain reaped the fruits of the wiſdom of its miniſters; and Truth and Right were eſtabliſhed in peace.

* In his Speeches in Parliament, on December 2, 1777, and March 17, 1783, wherein he recommended the making a Fœderal Treaty with America.

This

This Memorial will now proceed to ſtate the Syſtem of America ſo far as relates to the formation and conſtitution of the General Government of the Confederated Sovereignty of America. * " Neque " prorſus diffidere debeo, quin poſſim de " hac re fortaſſè, non imperitè nec in- " utiliter differere ; utpote qui longa † " experientiâ edoctus, & per tot munerum " &

* *Bacon* de augmentis Scientiarum. Lib. iii. Cap. 8.

† Eſpecially in this point of Policy, the grounds and reaſons, the ways and means, of Union and Confederation between States, ſuch as the Free ones of America.

This Memorialiſt was at the Congreſs at Albany in 1754, and cognizant both of the meaſures and the reaſons of the meaſures adopted there.

He, as a Commiſſioner from the Province, now the State Maſſachuſſett's-bay, in 1755, negotiated with New-York, New-Jerſey, and Pennſylvania, the Confederated expedition, in union with New England, againſt Crown Point ; and Succeeded.

And, laſtly, when he was Governor of Maſſachuſett's-bay, he formed, in 1758, a Plan of an Union of the Provinces, Colonies, and Plantations, of New-England, for their mutual Protection and Defence againſt the Common Enemy, which was actually concerted and ſettled by Commiſſioners from Maſſachuſſett's-bay, and the Commiſſioners of the Colony of Connecticut, convened at Boſton :

" & honorum gradus ad ampliſſimum " [Coloniarum] Magiſtratum evectus fu- " erim, eundemq; magiſtratum per annos " quoſdam geſſerim."

The Memorial hath explained in what manner and by what principles the Syſtem of America ſtands on the natural baſis of a Republic. The deſcribing how it is built up in its *Frame* in conformity to this foundation, is coming to the point of *Conſtitution.*

The People at large in the multitude are in a natural incapacity of exerciſing their Reaſoning powers; and very inconveniently ſituated and circumſtanced to give by every Individual their Judgment and Reſult. There is no regular way of collecting the wiſdom and ſenſe of the People as a Community, but by ſome delegated repreſentation, to ſuch numbers as may be in a capacity of Reaſoning and

to which the Province New-Hampſhire, the Colony Rhode-Iſland, and Providence Plantation, were invited to accede.——The change of Men and Meaſure in the Military Command in America which took place that year, rendered this meaſure unneceſſary, and it was laid aſide.

Debate;

Debate; * and no means (ſome caſes excepted) of collecting the ſenſe of the whole, but by delegation of power to a part to give the diſſent or conſent for the whole. If the People, as in America, are in the full and perfect uſe and enjoyment of their equal Liberty, they will, as in the ordinary proceſs of their operations, form their own actual Repreſentation; they will naturally find out where the wiſdom of the Community lies, and will delegate their power of reaſon and debate to that part. They will find out almoſt mechanically to whom and in what manner they may delegate the power of giving their Diſſent or Conſent, and of converting the Wiſdom of the State into the Law of the Land.

This is the *Actual* State of America. The univerſal ſenſe of the People is collected, and operates in Debate and Reſult on the univerſal intereſt of the People.

* A Popular Aſſembly, rightly ordered, brings up every one in his turn to give the Reſult of the whole People. *Harrington's* Syſtem of Politics. Chap. v. 24.

This

This is the exiſtence by nature, and in fact of a republic, *Reſpublica eſt Res Populi.* Populus autem non omnis Cœtus multitudinis, ſed Cœtus juris conſenſu, & utilitatis communione ſociatus.

Exactly as the ſeveral ſeparate States are formed on this Syſtem and by theſe principles, ſo is the general Confederation by the eſtabliſhment and Conſtitution of its Government. The Reaſon of the whole is delegated to, and the Wiſdom of the whole is concentered in, the Congreſs. And this Inſtitution ariſes from thoſe principles, and by thoſe operations, which actuate a Free Republic: The Liberty of the People, manifeſted by the ſenſe of the whole, coincides, co-operates, and exiſts in it. Neither the opinions of aſſuming Leaders, nor the intrigues of caballing Factions, will be found there, or at leaſt will not ſurvive a moment. The Senſe of the whole is what muſt predominate, actuate, and govern throughout, in all opinions, in all meaſures of effect and permanency. In Great Britain, where the Members

Members of Parliament do not come together as repreſenting *the Senſe and reaſoning of the People* at large; they muſt have ſome time to form *their own* opinion. A certain leading Judgment *does this for them*; and as often as this leading judgment changes *its* opinion, theſe Members, or a majority of them, will be found to have changed *their* opinion in all extreams of contraries. This inſtability hath, and will ever attend them, although members of a permanent Body; while the Congreſs, an annual inſtitution, conſiſting of many new Members at every re-election, hath in its opinions, its reſolutions and meaſures, manifeſted a degree of united firmneſs, a continued uniformity in opinion, and unalterable perſeverance in a Syſtem of wiſe and effective meaſures. The true and real reaſon of this is, that this Syſtem was the decided, determined opinion of the Body of the People, whom thoſe Members of Congreſs *really repreſented.* Experience has confirmed what Wiſdom ſaw before, that there

there could not be a meaſure more ſurely grounded than this Inſtitution by which the Confederation acts in Congreſs. If it be viewed ariſing from the actual State of things and Men, and by the natural energy thereof, it will be ſeen that there could not be a meaſure more judiciouſly, more politically conſtituted, to actuate the reaſon, to collect the Wiſdom of the Union, and to bring it forward into action. There cannot be a ſtronger proof of the Temper, Prudence, and aſſured confidence, which the People have in the foundation of their Liberties, than the entruſting in delegation the great and extenſive Powers with which they have inveſted Congreſs; nor can there be in any Rulers a greater Merit with the People, than the Spirited yet cautious, the Liberal yet guarded Uſe that theſe Members of Congreſs have made of them.

The ordinary mode of adminiſtration into which General Councils diſtribute themſelves, is, by the Members dividing themſelves in ſeveral Chambers or Boards,

Boards, according to the ſeveral branches of buſineſs to be done, and erecting theſe into ſeparate Offices. The Deputies of the States of the Belgic United Provinces formed themſelves into three Councils; the Council called the States-General, the Council of State, and the Chamber of Accounts. The Command of the Army and Navy, which might have divided them into two more departments, were veſted in the Counts or Stadtholder of each Province, as Captain General and Admiral. Theſe Offices always have either too little or too much power, and are, in the one extreme, inefficient to the purpoſe of adminiſtrative power; or, in the other, form dangerous precedents againſt the equal balance of power in the Conſtitution of a Republic; or create diſtraction, oppoſition, and interfering obſtruction, in the Commiſſions and other delegated powers which act under each department. The Adminiſtration of the buſineſs of the Government of Great-Britain by ſuch Boards, gives daily proof of this. The Prudence, Experience, and Wiſdom of

Congreſs, have avoided the forming of any ſuch Offices, Boards, or Chambers: They from time to time appoint ſuch Commitees, with ſuch powers, as the emergent caſe may require; or ſuch ſtanding Committees as a permanent courſe of Affairs in any one line may render neceſſary; which Committees, while they continue, may apply to Congreſs from time to time for ſuch further powers as may become neceſſary. This application will give Congreſs a proper opportunity of reviſing the buſineſs, and of conſidering, whether they will grant further powers, or whether the buſineſs doth not become of ſuch importance as that they ſhould take it into their own cognizance and management. This is a much wiſer mode of caſting the buſineſs of an Adminiſtration of a Republic. It is, indeed, a line of conduct that is peculiar to, and diſtinguiſhes the wiſdom of, Congreſs.

The Memorialiſt takes now the liberty which, as a Citizen of the World, he feels he hath in him, that of giving his opinion even

even where he preſumes to doubt upon any meaſure of Congreſs. By the fifth ſection of the eighth Article of the Confederation, "the States aſſembled in Con-" greſs ſhall have authority to appoint a " Committee of the States *to ſit in the re-* " *ceſs of Congreſs.*" Experience is derived from comparing one meaſure and its conſequences with another, that being ſimilar may have ſimilar conſequences. "The " States General" (ſaith Sir William Temple, in his Treatiſe on the Conſtitution of the Belgic Union) "uſed to be convoked " by the Council of State; but the Pro-" vinces and their Delegates, growing " jealous of that power, perhaps from a " miſuſer of it, formed an *Ordinary Council* " *called the States General*, which is *only* " *a repreſentation* of the States General, " though always called by that name. The " *Real Whole Body* of the States General " *never ſits*; this ſo called ſits continually." Compare this Caſe to that of the *Committee of States ſitting in the Receſs of Congreſs.* Does it not ſeem, from this example, if rightly underſtood and rightly

 applied,

applied, that ſome caution is neceſſary, leſt *the Committee of the States ſitting in the receſs* of Congreſs, the repreſentative of a repreſentation, ſhould *in ordinary* ſuperſede Congreſs? And does not the occaſion of appointing ſuch a Committee ariſe from a defect, namely, that of providing for the Adminiſtrative part of Government?

The obſervation, which the Memorial is led next to make, requires much apology; and is made with all deference to the wiſdom of Congreſs; and the Memorialiſt confides in the candour of the Sovereigns of America, that they will not be offended, if he aſſumes in this point no more liberty than he did in his addreſs to the Sovereigns of Europe. The Memorialiſt, perſuaded of the truth of his opinion on the matter, as he conceives it to lie, and yet differing ſo directly from a decided opinion and meaſure of Congreſs, fears that he does not rightly or perfectly underſtand the caſe. Collecting, however, his ideas from the Act of Confederation, he cannot but think, that ſufficient and adequate proviſion is not made for the

Repre-

Repreſenting of the MAJESTY OF THE PEOPLE, THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE UNITED STATES; nor for the efficient Adminiſtration of the intereſt and powers of the Confederation as a General Government. From ſome lingering doubt of themſelves, from ſome exceſs of diſtruſt in men, from ſome defect in that aſſured confidence, which a People, founded in political freedom, and built up to Sovereignty, ought to have in their Syſtem, they ſeem (at leaſt ſo it appears to the Memorialiſt) to have been afraid to eſtabliſh a Supreme Magiſtracy, to give effect to, and to carry into execution, in a continued courſe of Adminiſtration, the reſolves, orders, and meaſures of Congreſs. And yet their whole ſyſtem, the forms of buſineſs, the procedure of the operations of the reſpective States, and the circumſtances in which the American people at large found themſelves at the time of the late Revolution, led as naturally to ſome ſuch eſtabliſhment; as the Syſtem and Circumſtances of the Roman People, when

when they drove out their King, and abolished personal Domination, led to the establishing of the Administrative, Executive Magistracy in annual Consuls.

Previous to the reasoning in which the Memorial now proceeds to recommend the mixture of *Monarchical forms* of office in the Administrative branch of Magistracy, it may be proper to avow and declare the Memorialist's opinion of Government by a Monarch, claiming any personal right of *Imperium* over the State and People as his Dominion in property; it is a proper caution; that he may not be mistaken, or even suspected, when his ideas and words go only to that monarchical Magistrate, who merely as an official temporary responsible Officer administers, in rotation, the *Res Populi*, the Commonwealth; as though he had a drift, by a suppositious measure, to lay the ground for the Restoration of Monarchy. The Words of Mr. Harrington will best express it: "I could never be persuaded, "but that it was more happy for a people "to be disposed of by a number of per-

son

" ſons jointly intereſted and concerned
" with them, than to be numbered as the
" Herd and inheritance of One, to whoſe
" luſt and madneſs they were abſolutely
" ſubject: and that any Man, even of the
" weakeſt reaſon and generoſity, would
" not rather chuſe for his habitation that
" Spot of Earth, where there was acceſs
" to Honour by Virtue, and where no
" Worth could be excluded, rather than
" that where all advancement ſhould pro-
" ceed from the Will of one ſcarcely hear-
" ing and ſeeing with his own organs,
" and gained for the moſt part by means
" lewd and indirect; and all this in the
" end to amount to nothing elſe than a
" more ſplendid and dangerous ſlavery."
Although this be the opinion of the Memorialiſt, the Memorial will not preſume to proceed in its opinions, but under the reaſoning of that genuine Patriot, and decided Republican, BRUTUS, as contained in the advice which he gave to the Roman People at the Criſis of their revolution from Monarchy to a Commonwealth.

" The

" The firſt eſſential buſineſs" * (ſaith this Great Man) " is to ſet ourſelves " quite clear and rid of the Monarch, ſo " as to leave no doubts, no hopes, ſo as " to riſque no danger of our falling back " to that Syſtem of Tyranny in perſonal " domination. This ſtep ſecured; we " ſhall at our eaſe and leiſure be Free to " make ſuch alterations and correction in " the Office, as may be found ſafeſt and " beſt for the future adminiſtration of " our Republic; by a Magiſtracy of a " different inſtitution, executing the ne- " ceſſary powers of this Branch of Go- " vernment, altered, corrected, limited, " controuled, and reſponſible at the Ex- " piration of their temporary *Imperium*. " The evils which were derived upon " us from the Monarch, as holding and " exerciſing his power *as of perſonal* " *right*, muſt be immediately and radi- " cally taken away and removed; and " the office muſt be guarded againſt all

* *Dionyſ. Halycarn.* Lib. iv.

poſſibility

" poſſibility of relapſe into Tyranny for
" the future. The Office itſelf ſhould be
" abridged in its duration, and limited
" in its powers, in all reference to per-
" ſonal prerogative; in every circum-
" ſtance and thing which may give the
" moſt diſtant occaſion to *continued or*
" *Perſonal* Government. The Officer
" or Officers, who ſhall be thought the
" proper ones to adminiſter this Office,
" ſhould not retain, even in idea or name,
" the leaſt trace of Government reſiding
" in their perſons, but in the Office:
" and that they are *only the Adminiſtra-*
" *tors of a Government directed by the*
" *Senate*, and that they *act by the advice*
" *thereof*, and *under the authority of the*
" *ſame*. The Magiſtrate or Magiſtrates
" ſhould be elected, and that *only for a*
" *year*, in ſucceſſive rotation of Perſons.
" He then declares his decided Opinion,
" that it ſhould not be entruſted to, nor
" be permitted to be executed by One
" Perſon, but by Two, having equal
" concurrent Powers and Juriſdiction.

" The Government, thus bipartite, will
" be a check upon itſelf; and each Offi-
" cer muſt act cautiouſly with reference
" to his Colleague. There will, by this
" diviſion of the Magiſtracy, be created
" an emulation for the obtaining the good
" opinion of the People, if not in both,
" in one at leaſt, in proportion as the
" other by his conduct is loſing it.
" Laſtly, and above all, the delegated
" Power which is committed to the
" Officer or Officers who are to adminiſ-
" ter and execute this Office, ſhould be
" limited in time. As there is nothing ſo
" ſtrongly prompts, teaches, and tempts a
" Man to annex power to himſelf perſo-
" nally, and to enterpriſe the extent of it;
" nothing which renders the Attempt ſo
" ſafe, and perhaps at length ſo neceſ-
" ſary, as diſtant and incertain reſponſi-
" bility, as the being unlimited in the
" duration of the time for which he
" holds his power: So, on the other
" hand, nothing ſo truly and effectually
" forms the republican character of the
" Officer

" Officer choſen to govern, as that he
" ſhould in his perſon, and in turn of ro-
" tation, obey as well as command ; that
" his delegated powers ſhould expire as
" ſoon, and at as ſhort a period, as is con-
" ſiſtent with efficient Government; and
" that, at the end of his adminiſtration,
" he ſhould as of courſe be reſponſible,
" and anſwer to the People for it. Theſe
" matters thus conſtituted and eſtabliſh-
" ed, you will not only be guarded againſt
" all perſonal Domination, againſt the
" evils ariſing or deriving from a Mo-
" narch; but you may, on the other hand,
" freely uſe, exerciſe, and enjoy, all thoſe
" advantages ariſing from the prompt,
" efficient, and continued adminiſtration
" of the Executive Branch through *Mo-*
" *narchical* forms, combined with the
" Ariſtocratic and the Controul of the
" Popular Branches in the ſame Com-
" monwealth. Conſidering theſe mat-
" ters, and that the forms of your pro-
" ceedings in buſineſs have been of this
" ſort, I ſhould doubt whether your pru-

" dence would at preſent make any fur-
" ther alteration in your Conſtitution *."

To this the Memorial adjoins the coinciding opinion of one of the trueſt Patriots and firſt Republican Stateſmen of the World of buſineſs. † CICERO ſays, *Reſpublica eſt Res Populi---Statuo eſſe optimè conſtitutam Rempublicam quæ ex tribus generibus illis, Regali, Optimo, & Populari, confuſa eſt modicè.* Alſo the opinion of a decided Engliſh Republican, *Mr. Harrington*---" A Commonwealth conſiſts of " a Senate propoſing, a people reſolving, " and the *magiſtracy executing*; whereby " partaking of the Ariſtocracy in the Se-" nate, of the Democracy in the People,

* The Memorial here gives, in a free tranſlation, the Sum and purport, rather than the cloſe tenor, of this Speech; rather than copying the manner, it gives the ſpirit of this wiſe counſel of Brutus, on which the Roman Republic, at its firſt great revolution was eſtabliſhed. The Editor did think of putting the Speech itſelf in the original, in the margin; but, on ſecond thoughts, decided that it was mere trifling to fill two or three pages with Greek to no purpoſe. The learned reader, if he feels himſelf intereſted, will refer to it.

† Fragment. *Ciceronis* de Repub. Lib. ii.

" and

" and of Monarchy in the Magiſtracy, it " is complete. Now, there being no other " Commonwealth but this in Art or Na- " ture, it is no wonder that the Ancients " held this only to be good."

After theſe authorities, the Memorialiſt preſumes to offer, with all humility and deference, his own reaſoning, applied to the preſent State of the American Confederation. It ſeems to this Memorialiſt, that, to inſure to itſelf efficiency and permanency ; to aſſure all other Powers, which can have any negotiation or alliances with it, of its having full powers and authorities, not only to treat and to conclude, but to carry into actual effect whatever it binds itſelf to in Treaty; the general Confederation, the general Government, wants ſomething to inſure in all caſes the *Conſenſus Obedientium* of all the States, to thoſe meaſures, the carrying of which into execution depends on the diſtinct Sovereignty of each State. The Congreſs met at Albany, felt the ſame difficulty, and found that in practice

tice this ſame defect might occur. What they as Commiſſioners of ſubordinate dependent Provinces adopted, might ſuit them as ſubject to a Superior paramount Government, but can by no means be even talked of in the caſe of independent Sovereigns. In conſequence, however, of the Independence and Sovereignty of each State, ſome thing hath appeared as wanting. What that ſomething ſhould be, the Memorialiſt does not preſume, even in his own mind, to form an idea of, much leſs to write or ſpeak of. If, on any occaſion, the Delegates of any particular State, being in a Minority on any Queſtion, the State who ſent thoſe Delegates ſhould think, that Congreſs had exceeded the Powers with which it is inveſted, or had miſtaken and not acted conform to them, and ſhould therefore withhold the *conſenſus obedientium*; Political logic will never be wanting to give ſcope to ſuch evil. If there are no ſuch Symptoms through which Congreſs meets with difficulties; if what this Memorialiſt hath

been

been led to fear, and through exceſs of anxiety hath preſumed to mention as an Object of fear, is unfounded, he begs pardon, and confides alone in the Spirit of liberality, which animates Congreſs, for forgiveneſs. If any ſuch Symptoms have, however latent, been felt; the caution, although it may be, as Demoſthenes ſaid to the Citizens of Athens, neither prudent nor pertinent in me to mention, is, nevertheleſs, *always neceſſary for You,* UNITED STATES AND CITIZENS, *to take to your boſoms.*

The Articles of Confederation mark, that there are many Matters reſpecting the general Intereſt of the States, and their Buſineſs, which muſt be referred to Congreſs: the Deliberation, the deciding opinions and Reſolutions upon thoſe matters, and the originating of Meaſures to be taken thereupon, muſt certainly be truſted to Congreſs, and cannot any where elſe be ſo truly and ſafely truſted. Congreſs, however, ſeems to be formed on the Idea of a Senate to debate, or of a Council

Council to adviſe; and there ſeems to be (at leaſt it ſo ſeems to this Memorialiſt) *a neceſſity of a diſtinct Branch of Magiſtracy for Adminiſtration:* an office executed by ſome officer or officers that ſhall be reſponſible to the States at large. If the ſame Body whoſe Reſult forms *the Reaſon of State*, and hath full power and authority to decide and reſolve what is *right to be done* in the General Government, is to adminiſter this reaſon of State, and to execute the meaſure decided on; there can be no reſponſibility: and ſhould even, in future depravations of men, ſuch caſes arrive, that a Majority of ſome future Congreſs ſhould be devoted to the ſentiments of ſome foreign Court, THE UNITED STATES may be injured within the year of that Congreſs, without remedy: whereas, were two Conſuls (Protectors, Stadtholders, Preſidents, or officers by any other Title) annually elected, who ſhould adminiſter and execute (under the Authority and by the advice of Congreſs) the General Buſineſs of the

UNITED

United States, and limited in their power thus only to act, ſo as that any Act, not thus authoriſed and adviſed, ſhould be null and void reſpecting the States, and Criminal reſpecting the Acting Magiſtrates; the Confederation could not be betrayed. And if, in order to manifeſt the Authority and Legality of theſe Executing Adminiſtering Officers, it ſhould be a neceſſary accompaniment, that every Act ſhould be counterſigned by the Secretary of Congreſs; no Perſons or States whom it might concern could be deceived. Theſe Magiſtrates, to prevent any colluſion between them and a corrupt majority of Congreſs, ought to be held reſponſible to the States at large, for executing any meaſures, even though adviſed by Congreſs, if ſuch meaſures were fundamentally contrary to the Conſtitution, or directly injurious *Rei Populi*, or did in any mode betray the intereſt of the States to foreign powers: and at the ſame time theſe Magiſtrates, that in fair juſtice they might be able to act clear of

blame under this Reſponſibility, ought to have a power, if they ſaw Cauſe, jointly or ſeparately, of ſuſpending their Acting, until they could refer the matter of Doubt to the Several States reſpectively. " As " the *hand* of the Magiſtrate would be, " by this Inſtitution, the Adminiſtrator of " *the Reaſon* of State and the Execu- " tor of the Law; ſo the *head* of that " Magiſtrate ought to be anſwerable to " the People that his conduct is directed " by that reaſon of State, and his execu- " tion conform to that Law *." Such a Magiſtrate will be in a natural incapacity of doing wrong himſelf, and will be from prudence and Self-ſafety an efficient check over any very dangerous errors or miſchievous Intrigues of Congreſs. The Memorialiſt does not here preſume to Speak of the Extent or Limitation of the Powers which ſhould be veſted in ſuch Magiſtrates; he will only ſay, as an uncontrovertible truth, that they ſhould be ſuch as are efficient to Adminiſtration and Execution.

* Mr. Harrington.

Execution. If they are not, the Inſtitution is a Mockery: and if the UNITED STATES AND CITIZENS OF AMERICA heſitate to delegate ſuch to an annual elective ſucceſſion of Magiſtrates in rotation, they have not within themſelves a real grounded aſſurance in the foundation of their own Syſtem; they are not perfectly confirmed and ſatisfied in the conſciouſneſs of their Political Freedom.

The Wiſdom and Authority of the Congreſs is the concentration of the reaſon and powers of the ſeveral States; as is, in like manner, each State the concentration of the reaſon and powers of its reſpective Citizens. The Sovereignty and *Imperium* of the Magiſtracy in each State, is the concentring Repreſentative of the Majeſty of the People of that State. There ſeems (at leaſt to the apprehenſion of this Memorialiſt) to be wanting, in the General Government of the Confederation, a like concentred Repreſentative of the Majeſty of the People

at large, and of the General Sovereignty of the United States.

As Man conſiſts of Body as well as mind; ſo, in all matters with which his political exiſtence is connected, there muſt be an actual office externally and materially exiſting, as *the reſidence of Majeſty and Sovereignty in perſonal Exiſtence*, with which the Majeſty and Sovereignty of other States may treat and act.

If, according to experience derived from the Wiſdom and Fortune of Rome, THE UNITED STATES ſhould be of opinion to inſtitute ſuch an office, the reſidence of Majeſty and Sovereignty; and to Create two equal Magiſtrates with concurrent juriſdiction, as above deſcribed, to adminiſter and execute theſe concentred Powers; they will, as that State did, cloath this officer or officers with all the enſigns of Majeſty, and all the outward marks of Executive power; with all the honours and dignities that ſhould attend and adorn the actual Repreſentative

preſentative of the Majeſty of the People; ſo that its authority may be ſeen and felt, as well as its powers obeyed, within the General Government. They will ſo hold out the ſtaff, and ſet up on high the Standard of their Sovereignty to all Nations, that its equal State may ſtand acknowledged, that its *Fecial* rights, its war eſtabliſhment, the Rank of its Staff, and of its Officers, may be, by decided acknowledgment of Nations, known and avowed; that the Reſpect due to its flag, the Authority of its Paſſes, Letters of Mark, and the Rank of its Fleets and Seamen, may be ſettled as of common and reciprocal right; that the *ſeveral orders of Citizens*, in this New Republican State, may have, in perfect reciprocity, relative place and precedence amongſt the *reſpective orders of ſubjects* in the ſeveral States of Europe; that its Commerce may, in its operations and intereſts, enjoy full and perfect liberty, ſuch as it gives.

All the Forms of Office, all proceedings in buſineſs, all the modes of Adminiſtration,

niſtration, all the acts of Government in the reſpective States, when they were Provinces and Colonies, were Monarchical. Moſt of the States have preſerved the ſame Forms in their reſpective New-eſtabliſhed Sovereign Conſtitutions; nor are they leſs Commonwealths or Republics for taking this mixed form; but, as hath been ſaid above, ſo much the more firmly founded in Cuſtoms, Nature, and Truth. How, then, will the General Government be the leſs a Republic for taking the like form, or why leſs to be truſted with it? May the Memorialiſt, therefore, venture to ſay, UNITED STATES AND CITIZENS of America, conſider and treat yourſelves *as what you are*; and act upon your Syſtem *as being what it is*: and know *that it is* that beſt of all conſtituted Republics, that, in which the Monarchical, Ariſtocratic, and Popular Forms, are all combined in concert with each other.

If any doubts, fears, or jealouſies, of the reſtoration of the Monarch, agitate the minds

minds of the States and Citizens; the appointment of this new-reformed office, framed and interwoven into the Conſtitution of the Commonwealth, with powers that efficiently and to all purpoſes fulfil and execute all the duties of the Monarch, will, as it did at Rome, effectually for ever ſtifle every thought and wiſh that could look to ſuch Reſtoration, and exclude all poſſibility of any ſuch event taking place. Had the people of England, after the death of Charles the Firſt, and the exile of the reſt of the Royal Family, been in a capacity of taking up the precedent of Rome, and appointed an annual Magiſtracy---a Protector---or two Conſuls, to execute the office of Protector or King, there never would have been a Reſtoration. But the Nation, finding no regular, conſtitutional, Adminiſtrative Power; but, inſtead thereof, feeling the arbitrary power of every aſcendant Faction, did, under one common ſympathy, and unanimouſly, (if that expreſſion can be ſaid of an act where no concert or common

common conſent was taken,) révolt from the Government in Poſſeſſion, and recoil back into Monarchy, and to the Monarch.

The only thing which can ever, in America, create a danger of falling back to the imagination or deſire of a Monarch, will be the leaving of the General Government defective, *ſinè Magiſtratu & Imperio* in the Executive Adminiſtrative Branch. If there be not a fixed permanent office, that may be the center of information; the Repertory and Record of the concentred wiſdom of the People, of the Reaſon of State; that may be the conſtant, uniform, never-ceaſing ſpring of action in the adminiſtration and management of the general Intereſt, the general government of the UNITED STATES; this Government muſt at times be at a ſtand, its powers ſuſpended, and always liable to be inefficient. This *deſideratum* will lead uneaſy, unſettled, reſtleſs minds, to other *deſiderata*; and if this chain of reaſoning, or of adopting opinions, once takes

takes place with a people, who ſhall ſay to what it may or may not train? More is to be apprehended from the deficiency of this Branch of Government, than it is poſſible ſhould derive from any eſtabliſhment of ſuch a Magiſtracy, and ſuch annual reſponſible Magiſtrates, as this Memorial preſumes to recommend. The Conſtitution of Rome was ruined by the advantages taken in various meaſures from the want of a proper elective Aſſembly, repreſentative of the People; and the creation of an † unlimited Magiſtrate, to actuate their factions. If any thing could have ſaved this Conſtitution, the Office of Conſul would have ſaved it.

All that is here ſaid, refers to the Eſtabliſhment of the Empire, *as to Peace and Polity:* the Congreſs, with a General and Commander in Chief of the Army, was ſufficient for *War*—* *Sed in poſterum firmanda Reſpublica, non armis modo, neq; adverſum Hoſtes, ſed, quod multò majus, multòq; aſperius eſt, bonis Pacis artibus.*

The Memorial here cloſes what it hath

† The Tribune. * Salluſt ad Cæſarem.

preſumed to advance upon the matter of Conſtitution; and quoting an opinion of Mr. Hume, namely, "That Legiſlators "ought not to truſt the future Govern- "ment of a State to Chance, but ought "to provide a Syſtem of Laws to regu- "late the Adminiſtration of public af- "fairs to the lateſt Poſterity," will hope that what it hath recommended will make a ſerious impreſſion on the minds of the Americans in the true ſenſe of this wiſe and intereſting advice.

The Spirit of a right Adminiſtration muſt be formed and take its ſpring from the various parts of the Syſtem of the Community and State; from the form and order in which the Individuals within the community, and the Citizens within the State, lie and are diſtributed. An Adminiſtration of Government following theſe principles, will diſtinguiſh the eſſential unalienable rights of the Individual, both internal, and thoſe which, being external, are communicable, and are melted down into the Communion. It will take care that that full right and

poſ-

poſſeſſion, that free enjoyment of property, which the Individual is entitled to; that thoſe laws of nature which even the eſtabliſhment of Civil Polity does not interfere in, and which, therefore, remain in the right of the Individual, are not clogged, abated, or obſtructed, by any of thoſe perverted conditions which the Governments of the *Old World* have too generally adopted.

The Spirit of the American will, as it hath done, continue to provide for a full, equal, unobſtructed, adequate Repreſentation, actuating both Debate and Reſult, by which the wiſdom of the General Community may be concentred; by which the Senſe, both in conſent and diſſent, of the whole, may be regularly collected. It will always provide, as it hath done, for an uniform equable rotation of Obedience and Command.—" *Neque ſolum iis præſcribendus eſt Imperandi, ſed etiam Civibus obtemperandi Modus. Nam et qui benè imperat, parueritaliquando neceſſe eſt; et qui modeſtè paret, videbatur, qui aliquando imperet, dignus*

esse. Itaq; oportet ut eum, qui paret, sperare se aliquo tempore imperaturum; et illum, qui imperat, cogitare brevi tempore sibi esse parendum." *Cicero* de Legibus, Lib. iii. § 2.

This measure of Rotation of Office, and responsibility at the going out of Office, is of the essence of a real Republic.

The State arising from, and being built up in, that Spirit of genuine Liberty, which animates the New World, not in the partial political one of the Old World, which hath a thousand distinctions and exclusions of Nations, Provinces, even Colours of the human Species; the UNITED STATES AND CITIZENS of America, whose System is founded on a Law of Nations that coincides with the Law of Nature, will find it just and right, true in politics, to institute some mode, by which the *Slaves*, whom Providence hath suffered to come under their domination, may work out, by proper means and in suitable time, their Liberty; by means which may not injure the property of the Master-owners, and which may render

render the Slaves better and more zealous ſervants, while their Slavery remains. Theſe unhappy People, emerging to liberty, under certain limitations, will become, what the American community moſt wants, a beneficial Supply of Labourers, Farmers upon rent, Mechanics and Manufacturers. Perhaps, in order to throw them into theſe claſſes, as well as for other reaſons, it may be thought one of the proper limitations, to exclude the coloured *Liberti* from a capacity of having or holding any landed Property, other than as Tenants. The Memorialiſt has his ideas as to the means of carrying this meaſure into execution. If the States ſhould diſapprove the meaſure itſelf, the mention of them would become improper. If it ſhould pleaſe God to put it into their hearts, to reaſon, that, while they feel their obligations to his Providence for eſtabliſhment of their own liberty, they ought to think it a duty required of them to open and extend this bleſſing to their fellow creatures;

tures; they would be maſters of much better ways and means than the Memorialiſt could ſuggeſt, each State adopting by their own legiſlature ſuch as were ſuited to their reſpective peculiar circumſtances.

As the UNITED STATES in the New World have no landed Clergy, *no Church Eſtabliſhment*, as the Religion of the State or the General Government; and as this is a matter ſo foreign and incomprehenſible to common Politicians of the Old World; more than ordinary attention becomes due to the grounds of the Sanction of Oaths. It will be wiſe to review the Inſtitutions by which Oaths are applied to the interior proceedings of Government; it will be neceſſary that Foreign powers ſhould underſtand the Grounds of theſe Sanctions, both divine and human, by which the obligation of oaths in America ſtands bound and devoted.

Although the *Modes* of Faith, and Faſhions of Ceremonies in the Religion of America, are left as indifferent and irrelevant,

irrelevant, either to the true Eſſence of Religion, or to the Conſtitution of the State; yet there is no Country or Region on the Earth, where a real ſincere conſcientious ſenſe of the divine truths reſpecting the Supreme Being, and the diſpenſations of his providence here, and in a future State of Rewards and puniſhments, are in Spirit and truth ſo generally impreſſed on the mind and Character of the Inhabitants; and the States, each within its own juriſdiction, do require of every Citizen, * upon the ſame Principles

* It may not be amiſs to give an inſtance or two of this: firſt, as it was conceived by thoſe States of the Old World who were under the darkneſs of the Falſe Religion; and, next, of the general manner in which the American States take up this neceſſary claim on their Citizens.—*Si igitur hoc a principio perſuaſum Civibus, Dominos eſſe omnium rerum ac moderatores Deos: eaq; quæ gerantur eorum geri ditione, ac numine, eoſdemq optimè de genere hominum mereri: et Qualis quiſq; ſit, quid agat, quid in ſe admittat, quâ mente, quâ pietate colat religiones, intueri, piorumq; etim piorum habere rationem.——— Utiles eſſe autem opiniones has, quis neget, cum intelligat quam multa firmentur jurejurando; Quantæ Salutis ſint Fœderum religiones; quam multos divini ſupplicii metus à ſcelere revocârit, quamq; ſancta ſit Societas*

ciples that all other States have done, ſome open teſtimony and overt act of his religious character. There is, therefore, the ſame grounds of the Sanction of an oath in the mind and conſcience of man towards God, in America, as in any other Country; and, indeed, ground more aſſuredly to be reſted upon, where the religion, being that of the mind and heart, is free in Spirit and Truth, than where it is made

Societas civium inter ipſos, Diis immortalibus interpoſitis tum Judicibus tum Teſtibus.—*Cicero* de Repub. L. ii. § 7.

See next how the States of America take up this idea, and make it one of the fundamentals of their Syſtem. I will take my inſtance from the State Maſſachuſett's bay; which ſhows, that, although that Commonwealth admits no Church eſtabliſhment, yet it conſiders Religion as the fundamental principle of a State.——"It is right, as well as the Duty of all Men *in Society*, publicly and at ſtated ſeaſons to worſhip the Supreme Being.——As *the happineſs of a people*, and *the good order and preſervation of the Civil Government*, eſſentially depend upon Piety, Religion, and Morality; and as theſe cannot be generally diffuſed through a Community, but by the Inſtitution of the Public Worſhip of God, and of public inſtructions in piety, Religion, and morality; therefore, to promote their happineſs, and to ſecure the good order and preſervation of their Government, the People of this Commonwealth

made up of externals forced by eſtabliſh-ment into practice, which becomes little better than either mechanical habit, or hypocriſy. Again; where Men accuſtom themſelves to uſe in common converſation the *forms* of oaths by appeals to God, for the truth of their Conduct or of their aſſe-

wealth have a right to inveſt their Legiſlature with power to authoriſe and require, and the Legiſlature ſhall, from time to time, authoriſe and require, the ſeveral Towns, Pariſhes, Precincts, and other Bodies politic, or religious Societies, to make ſuitable proviſion, at their own expence, for the inſtitution of the public worſhip of God, and for the ſupport and maintenance of public Proteſtant Teachers of Piety, Religion, and Morality, in all caſes where ſuch proviſion ſhall not be made voluntarily.'

'And the People have a right to (and do) inveſt their Legiſlature with authority to enjoin upon All the Subjects an attendance upon the Inſtructions of public Teachers as aforeſaid, at ſtated times and ſeaſons, if there be any on whoſe inſtructions they can conſcientiouſly and conveniently attend.'

'Provided, notwithſtanding, that the ſeveral Towns, Pariſhes, Precincts, and other Bodies politic, or religious Societies, ſhall at all times have the excluſive right of electing their public teachers, and of contracting with them for their ſupport and maintenance.'

'And all monies paid by the Subject to the ſupport of public Worſhip, and of the public teachings aforeſaid, ſhall, if he [that is, any Individual, or

aſſeverations; or where, in the like profane habit, they do, as it were by a kind of *votive ordeal*, call down upon themſelves the vengeance and the curſes which God is ſuppoſed to pour down on the heads of the perjured: in ſuch countries, and with ſuch habits and characters, there will not be that religious Senſe of the ſolemn Sanction of an oath, as in America, where this profane habit hath not yet pervaded the general manners of the people.

An Oath is, as Cicero * defines it, *Affirmatio religioſa*, DEO *teſte*. This being

number of Individuals] requires it, be uniformly applied to the ſupport of the public Teacher or Teachers of his own religious Sect or denomination, provided there be any on whoſe inſtructions he attends; otherwiſe it may be paid towards the ſupport of the Teacher or Teachers of the Pariſh or Precinct in which the ſaid monies are raiſed.'

'And every Denomination of Chriſtians, demeaning themſelves peaceably, and as good ſubjects of the Commonwealth, ſhall be equally under the protection of the Law; and no ſubordination of any one ſect to another ſhall ever be eſtabliſhed by Law.'' —This Inſtitution, mutatis mutandis, will ſuit the religious part of every ſtate in America.

* De Off. Lib. iii. § 29.

ſo

ſo ſolemn an appeal to religion as ought not to be permitted to be violated without the temporal reſentment of Civil Society; all States have annexed ſevere temporal pains and penalties to this daring breach of faith, pledged under the witneſſing Eye and Sanction of Heaven. The Sanctions of an Oath are by theſe means of two kinds: Perjurii pœna *Divina* Exitium; *Humana* Dedecus. Cicero de Leg. Lib. ii. § 9.

If there is not in a People a conſcientious habitual ſenſe of the ſuperintending Providence of the Supreme Being, the pœna *Divina*, with the Man or Men who want this Senſe of duty towards God, will become a mockery and an enſnaring falſe pretence to confidence; and the adding an oath, under this callous State of conſcience, muſt operate as ſuch a ſnare, without inſuring truth or right. Nay, even further; where the proper ſenſe of religion remains, if the divine Sanction of Oaths is applied in trivial caſes, or too

preſumptuouſly recurred to in matters of doubtful temptation, or even made too common on more ſerious occaſions—or is tendered as a form of courſe in the ordinary occurrences of buſineſs,—it will become prophaned; firſt neglected, and finally contemned. This Error hath been invariably fallen into by all the Governments of the Old World, hath invariably produced the ſame evil, hath been felt in all, complained of, but never redreſſed.

It is a common and repeated remark with Hiſtorians, when they compare the corruptions of later with the purity of former times, to mark this loſs of the *Divine* Sanction of oaths. * Livy, ſpeaking of a tranſaction, wherein the Tribunes aimed, by a caſuiſtical diſtinction, to abſolve the people from their oaths, ſays, *Sed nondum hæc, quæ nunc tenet Sæcula, negligentia Deûm venerat, nec interpretanda ſibi, Quiſq; jusjurandum & Leges aptos faciebat, ſed ſuos potiùs mores ad ea ac-*

* Lib. iii. § 20.

commodat.

commodat. The Memorial here recurring to its leading propoſition, That, as the Americans are founded on, and *built up in, quite a new Syſtem in a New World,* by themſelves, are not only at liberty, but, in the natural courſe of their operations, muſt be led to take their meaſures from nature and truth, and not from prejudged precedents; whatever inſtitutions they form on any new matter or occaſion will be original: on this poſition, the Memorialiſt ventures to proceed in the following reaſoning. As the ſanctions of an oath are of two kinds, if the oath is tendered and taken under one only of theſe ſanctions, the *Pœna,* as Cicero deſcribes it, will have a very different reference to the avenging juſtice of Heaven, or to the pains and penalties of the Civil Power. The American Legiſlators may, perhaps, making this diſtinction, be led to ſeparate theſe two very different ſorts of Oaths; the Oath taken under the Civil Sanction and Penalties only, from that in which the Divine

vine and Human Sanctions are combined. An oath taken and made, not invoking the preſence and atteſtation of God, but in preſence of and pledged to the Civil Magiſtrate only, under all the pains and penalties of perjury, and, under the Sanction of thoſe penalties, in caſe of perjury, of being rendered incapable of giving teſtimony, of doing any act, or enjoying any right, privilege, or thing, which requires the intervention of an Oath, may be ſufficient bond of faith in all ordinary caſes, in all Forenſic or Commerical tranſactions. *The* OATH *of the higher and more ſolemn form*, where God is invoked as a witneſs, wherein he is appealed to as a Judge, and as the direct avenger of perjury; this ſolemn Oath, in which the Divine Sanction hath alſo the temporal human Sanction combined with it, ſhould be reſerved ſolely to the moſt important occaſions of the State, either in its Fecial and Fœderal tranſactions with Foreign Nations; or where, within their own Syſ-

tem,

tem, the Majeſty of the People; the Sovereignty of the State; the vitality of the Conſtitution; or the life of man is concerned. In the tender and taking of this oath of the higher and ſolemn ſanction, every ceremony, every ſolemnity, ſhould be uſed that can tend to impreſs a right Senſe of the Sacred Sanctions under which it is taken.

An inſtitution of this kind, planned and formed by the wiſdom of the Aſſemblies of the States, with all the proviſions, diſtinctions, and limitations, which they will beſt know how to apply, would avoid all thoſe evils ariſing from the defect or corruption of the divine ſanction of oaths; would preſerve more ſacred that ſanction; and maintain its operative effect on the minds of men longer than any State of the Old World hath been able ever yet to do.

This Memorial doth not preſume to review the eſtabliſhment of the Military Part of the States; nor the form under which

which the Continental Army was conſtituted: if it did, it could be only to ſay, that nothing could be better calculated, nothing more wiſely grounded, ſo as to harraſs the people as little as poſſible, and yet always to be in practical promptitude, and efficiency, to execute the very ſervice for which it was called forth.

It declines, alſo, ſaying any thing on the Naval Department, as that ſubject ſeems to the Memorialiſt to require the diſcuſſion of a previous queſtion, of great import either way, and a matter of deep policy, of which the Memorialiſt is not competent to judge; namely, whether that Force ſhould be brought forward into force equal to the capabilities of the Empire, *all at once*, by one great united effort; or be let to grow by a natural ſucceſſive progreſſion in the ordinary train of affairs?

There are one or two points which lie not, indeed, ſo much in matter of Adminiſtration, as in the procedure of executive Juſtice.

The

The firſt is the new mode by which the States and the General Government muſt define and claſs the Crime of Treaſon, and Offences againſt the *Majeſtas* and the *Salus Populi*, and the Sovereignty of the State. The Governments of the latter periods of the Old World being Feudal, and there being no idea of Sovereignty but of that which was Perſonal, the Crime of Treaſon was confined to overt acts committed againſt this Perſonal Sovereign: but in the new Syſtem and Conſtitution of the UNITED STATES, the object *is the State, not the Perſon.* This Crime muſt be deſcribed, defined, and claſſed under its ſeveral degrees of criminality, according to this latter Idea. Here the Wiſdom of Congreſs and of the States cannot act too much upon caution, cannot too attentively, too anxiouſly, apply that caution, to guard itſelf againſt the errors into which the Romans were betrayed, and which, under this law of *læſa Majeſtas*, gave ſcope to the moſt cruel engine of Tyranny.

There are not, nor ever were, in America, any of thoſe *Foreſt-laws*, if Laws they can be called, which were the mere denunciations of Tyranny and Domination; Regulations that ruined the poor ſubjects of the Monarchs of Europe, in order to inſure the preſervation of their beaſts of the Chace. This tyranny became intolerable every where; in Britain it was wrenched out of the hands of the Monarch. If the ſuppreſſion of this domination had been made under the genuine Spirit of Liberty, the miſchief would have ended here; but a hundred heads of petty Tyrants ſprung out of the neck of this Hydra principle. A Syſtem of *Game-Laws* became eſtabliſhed in the hands of leſſer, but more miſchievous Tyrants; and in their hands became ſnares round the necks, and as whips of ſcorpions over the backs of the leſſer inhabitants of the land, the unqualified Yeomanry and Tenantry: but the Spirit of America revolts againſt ſuch baſeneſs; the very air will not permit it; what is *Wild by Nature*

Nature is there Game to every Individual, who is *free by nature*. There are laws to ſecure to each land-holder, the quiet enjoyment of his land againſt real treſpaſs and damage; but there are no *Game-laws* in America: that impudent Tyranny hath not yet, and, I truſt, never will, dare to ſhow its head in that Land of Liberty.

There is another matter of Police, which being, as the Memorialiſt conceives, an almoſt general Error of the Governments of the Old World, and ſuch as he thinks the Syſtem and Principles of the New World will reform, he will not paſs by in ſilence. He thinks that *impriſonment for debt* is a direct ſoleciſm in policy, not relevant to the ends of diſtributive Juſtice, and contrary to every idea of the advantages which the Community is ſuppoſed to derive, in ſome degree or other, from every individual. Impriſonment cannot pay the debt; is a puniſhment that makes no diſtinction between criminality, or the misfortune, which may

have occaſioned the debt. The glaring injuſtice of this puniſhment hath led to two remedial Laws, the Statutes of Bankruptcy and Statutes of Inſolvency, which are ſources of endleſs frauds. The locking-up the debtor from all means of Labour or Employment, is robbing the community of the profit of that labour or employment which might be produced, and is making the Debtor a burthen to his Creditor and to the public. If any fraud or other criminality appears amongſt the cauſes of the debt; or if it hath been occaſioned by an undue courſe of living above the circumſtances of the debtor; correct the vicious Follies, puniſh the Fraud. But taking the Debtor, ſimply as a debtor, pity his misfortune; do juſtice, nevertheleſs, to the Creditor. Inſtead of ſhutting the man up from all means of maintenance, * indent

* This Indenting of a Servant for a number of years, three, four, or ſeven, as the Europeans do apprentices, is a practice of every day: where New-comers into the Country,—ſome poſſeſſing large ſums, indent

dent him to his Creditor or Creditors as a bond ſervant; or where misfortune and not criminality, put him in ſome or other way by which ſome profit may be drawn from him. If he cannot labour in one way, he may be employed in another; for when obliged to it he will become uſeful in ſome way or other. If his mode of labour or capacity for employment be not of immediate uſe to his creditor, that creditor can ſell his time to ſome other perſon, to whom it may become ſo; the Creditor will thus, in part, be reimburſed; the profit (how ſmall is not here the conſideration) will not be loſt to the Community; and the dread of being reduced to this ſervile ſtate will be a greater terror to debtors becoming ſo by fraud and criminality, than any confinement in any jail whatſoever.

The Americans will excuſe the Memorialiſt, if he mentions one matter more;

dent themſelves as Servants for three or four years, in order to learn the buſineſs of the Country before they ſettle in its Lands.

which

which is, a caution againſt their falling into that falſe police of the Old World which hath manacled the hands of Labour, and put fetters on the activity of the Human Being; which hath fixed him to one Spot, and, as it were, to a vegetable mechaniſm, whom Nature meant ſhould be locomotive, ſeeking his means of labour and employ where he could beſt profit of his powers and capacities. He mentions this as a guard againſt their interfering with the free courſe of Labour; the free employment of Stock, either by direct regulating and prohibitory laws; by partial privileges, on one hand, or checks on the other; or by any local or perſonal privileges, which is a bounty on idleneſs, and deſtroys all competition; or by fooliſh bounties, which put every account of manufactures or commerce on a falſe balance at the outſet, which is never after ſet right. He hopes the Americans will excuſe this exceſs of caution in an European, who has ſeen the evil effects of all theſe errors in police. He knows that

there

there is no ſuch Spirit of Police in America, and he thinks he may hope there never will be.

Having thus diſcuſſed the *Eſſence* of the New Syſtem in the New World; the genuine Spirit of Liberty which animates it; the Spirit of Sovereignty that actuates it; the *equal temper* of a community of Equals which gives equable and uniform motion to it: having examined thoſe relative matters which may, both internally and externally, affect the *exiſtence* of this independent Sovereign; thoſe points more particularly which are neceſſary to give it Efficiency, and to aſſure its Permanency: Having, by a concurrent analyſis of its actual Situation with the Principles of the Syſtem, ſhewn how the Conſtitution is is founded on nature, and built up in Truth; having explained (according to the manner in which the Memorialiſt reaſons) how ſome new and original inſtitutions of Policy ought to ariſe out of it: having marked what ought to be, and

what

what will be, *the Reaſon of State*, *the Spirit of Adminiſtration* of ſuch a free Sovereign, ſo founded and ſo built up: The Memorial will now venture, in the words of the Prophet *, for this Prophet was as true a Patriot, as deep a Politician, as he was a ſound Divine, to ſay to the Sovereign Government of America,

1. Ariſe, aſcend thy Lofty Seat.
2. Be cloathed with thy Strength.
3. Lift up on high a Standard to the Nations.

Actuate your Sovereignty: exerciſe the powers and Duties of your Throne. Let the Supream Magiſtrate or Magiſtrates be viſibly *cloathed* with the Majeſty of the People; and ſeen to be armed with the efficient powers of Adminiſtration; and conſtantly attended with the rewards and Puniſhments of executive Juſtice. The Magiſtrate or Magiſtrates ſhould not only have all thoſe powers, but *be cloathed*

* Iſaiah.

with

with them, as with a Robe of State. The Faſces or other Inſignia Juris et Majeſtatis Imperii ſhould precede this Magiſtracy in ſome viſible form, whenever he or they come forth in the forms of office. Theſe are expreſſed by the *Inſignia* and *Faſces* which the Romans fixt in attendance on the Consuls, after they had aboliſhed the pomp and parade of their King.

It is not ſufficient that the United States feel that they are Sovereign; it is not ſufficient that the ſenſe of this is univerſally felt in America; it is not ſufficient that they are conſcious to themſelves that the *Punctum Saliens*, the Source and Spring of the Activity of this Sovereign power, is within their Syſtem: until they *lift up on high a Standard to the Nations*, it will remain as an abſtract idea, as a Theory in the World at large. This Sovereign muſt come forward amongſt the Nations, as an active Exiſting Agent, a Perſonal Being, ſtanding on the ſame ground as all other Perſonal Sovereigns.

Its Powers, Commiſſions, Officers Civil and Military; its claims to, and its exerciſe of, the Rights of the Law of Nations, muſt have their full and free ſcope in act and deed: wherever they come forward, their Standard and Flag, the Enſign of the Majeſty of their Sovereignty, muſt be erected, and its rights and privileges eſtabliſhed amongſt the Nations of the Earth; it muſt be acknowledged; reſpected; and, in all caſes whatſoever, *treated as what it is*, the Actual Signal of a Sovereign Empire.

The Supream * Magiſtrate of this confederate State when placed on the Throne of Empire, will become animated, and feel himſelf actuated by a ſenſe of Sovereign power; of his being the adminiſtering Officer of a Free People: and the People, conſcious that they are mutually

* I here uſe the word Magiſtrate ſingularly, as meaning Magiſtracy, inſtead of repeatedly uſing the expreſſion Magiſtrate or Magiſtrates.

Par-

Participants, and in common Conſtituent-Members, of this Sovereignty, will feel a reciprocal ſenſe of the Duty of Obedience.

The Popular Branch of a State, the People, are always found attached to their ancient Government; the Allegiance is ſo worn into habit, as to create a home-ſenſe of its being *Their own Government*: this is an artificial conſcience, an acquired opinion, a ſecondary principle. But when a People feel, that this Government is of their own eſtabliſhment and Structure; that the Magiſtrate adminiſtering is of their own creation; and that each one of themſelves is capable in rotation of becoming that Magiſtrate; they feel directly, primarily, on the fact, that this Government is their own *Imperium*, and the Duty of Obedience operates as by a ſenſe of Nature.

The Supream Magiſtrate of this Republic will feel, that the Community meant that the Sovereignty ſhould be Efficient; and that He is entruſted by the

Confidence of the People ſo to actuate it. He will aſſume to his Character this confidence. He will have the conſciouſneſs of knowing that He is the actuating ſpirit of the concentred Vitality of the State; and that His firſt and direct duty is the preſervation thereof in all its functions, health, and efficiency. He ought to fear nothing ſo much as the doing or ſuffering any thing that may hurt the *Salus Reipub.* that may diminiſh or abate the Majeſty of the People. It is not ſufficient that his office and Character have reſpect annexed to them; but He ought to acquire an Aſcendency that will command reſpect. He ought to be cloathed with the palpable viſible Authority and Power of the *Imperium.* He ought to ſtand above the level of Equality; He ought, wherever he is ſeen, to impreſs a ſenſe and an idea of Superiority and Eminence; He ought to be looked up to as the ſhield of the Good, and as the armed avenging hand of Evil. The People ought to ſee, (and, if the

conſtitution

conſtitution of the State be conform to the Syſtem of the Community, they will ſee,) that, as all political information centers in this office; as the Wiſdom of the State is concentred there; ſo the Activity of the State ſprings from it. Thus Seated on the Throne of Empire, the Supreme Magiſtrate of a State formed of a Free People, where the intereſt of the Rulers and of the People coincide, or rather are the ſame; the People and the Rulers cannot have two different views of things; the Rulers can have no Intereſt, no Wiſh, to repreſent or to treat things different from what they are. In a State ſo conſtituted and ſo arranged in its adminiſtration, there cannot be even a temptation to deceive on the part of the Rulers; there cannot be any ground to ſuſpect ſuch on the part of the People. It is only when the Government is built up contrary to the fundamental Syſtem of the Community, or, being perverted, becomes ſo, that

that deceit, corruption, or violence, can become a meaſure of State Policy. In a real Republic, which is *Res Populi*, the Proceſſion of its conſtitution, and the courſe of its actions, ariſe from Nature and Truth; all Deception, all Corrupt influence, all Violence, is directly contrary to the true principles of politics. Without Truth and Juſtice, a Republic cannot be adminiſtered or governed. The Supream Magiſtrate of ſuch a free State, muſt, from the nature of his information, ſee things as they lie in Nature, and will of Courſe found his Meaſures in Truth. Truth is not only a virtue, but is Wiſdom; and, in a government of a real Republic, ſuch as the Empire of America, is the only Genuine Policy. It creates truſt, finds Union and Confidence. And, laſtly, an Adminiſtration actuated by ſuch principles and maxims, finds itſelf *Cloathed with Strength*, the united ſtrength of the

Peo-

People *. Where there is a right knowledge in a Supream Magiſtrate of the Duty of adminiſtering a Republic, that Magiſtrate will be above all wretched King-craft and Cunning. Such is only neceſſary to falſe Power, to half ſpirit, and half ſenſe. The Magiſtrate who acts with real power, and underſtands his own ſituation and duty, will treat Perſons and Things *as what they are:* he knows exactly the line and takes it, and diſcerns of courſe the crooked one, only to avoid it. Truth has but one plain road to take; it is open, and is the beſt Policy. As it

* This is not viſion, ſuch as the Stateſmen of Europe, who are wiſe in their Generation of Corruption, may call it: it is Fact. And the Memorialiſt feels a conſcious pride that He dare appeal to the State Maſſachuſett's-bay, for an Example, in a period wherein the Rulers and the People had but one View of things, but one line of Conduct; wherein more real Exertions were made for the Public Service, than in any other Period, wherein the People have been attempted to be ruled by *the Art of Governing*, by deception, by corrupt influence, by violence.

doth

doth itſelf command Nature; it will lead a Republic to command to the utmoſt extent of its Capacities and Powers.

That Spirit of Uniform Juſtice, *quæ nec puniendo irritat animum immanem; nec omnia prætermittendo, licentiâ, Cives deteriores reddit*, is inſeparably allied to this of Truth.

The Spirit of Magnanimity, that Spirit which never ceaſes to feel that it is acting the part of a Sovereign over a Free People, who Governs by Authority within the State, and holds up his head with an aſcendant addreſs amongſt his Equals, other Sovereigns of the Earth, is another conſtituent part of this character.

A temper of invariable univerſal Benevolence, which circumſcribes all the reſt, and binds the Character into perfect Syſtem, is the crown of theſe (I will call them) political virtues.

Being thus planted in a New Syſtem in a New Country; growing up under ſuch prin-

principles of Truth and Nature; eſtabliſhed in ſuch a Conſtitution of Government; having in ſo ſhort a period been brought forward to Independence, and become Sovereigns acknowledged ſo by the Sovereigns of Europe; all this coming into Event by Something beyond the ordinary courſe of Events in human affairs, THE UNITED STATES AND CITIZENS OF AMERICA may ſay, "*It is the Lord's* "*doings.*" But let them remember, that enjoying a Syſtem of police that gives activity to their powers; that inhabiting a New World, a land of plenty and liberty; a country which hath ſo many ſources of enjoyments which it offers to the Old World—let them remember the obligations which Heaven hath thus laid on them, and the returns which this Goodneſs reclaims of them; that They reſpect the rights and liberties of Mankind; that by a free commerce they diffuſe to the World at large the ſurplus portion of theſe

good things which they muſt be continually creating in their own World; that they conſider themſelves as the means in the hands of Providence, of extending the Civilization of human Society; and the Teachers, by their example, of thoſe Political Truths, which are meant, not to enſlave, but to render men more free and happy under Government.—If they take up this Character within themſelves, and hold out its operations and effect to the Old World, they will become a Nation *to whom all Nations will come*; a Power whom all the Powers of Europe will court to Civil and Commercial Alliances; a People to whom the Remnants of all ruined People will fly, whom all the oppreſſed and injured of every nation will ſeek to for refuge. *The riches of the Sea will pour in upon them; the wealth of Nations muſt flow in upon them*; and they muſt be a populous and Rich People.

That all this, UNITED STATES AND CITI-

CITIZENS of America, may tend to your own real Good, Peace, and Liberty; that all this may prove the natural means, under the bleſſings of Heaven, of General Liberty, Peace, and Happineſs to Mankind, as the utmoſt that Human Nature here on earth can look to, is the ardent wiſh and anxious prayer of Your Memorialiſt

T. POWNALL.

FINIS

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